

JPRS-UPS-85-044

22 May 1985

# USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

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22 May 1985

**USSR REPORT**  
**POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS**

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INTERNATIONAL

**U.S. CRITICISM OF SOVIET WHALING PRACTICES DECRIED**

LD102136 Moscow TASS in English 1835 GMT 10 Mar 85

[Text] Moscow, April 10, TASS--By TASS commentator Aleksandr Vladimirov:

The United States has launched lately a fresh campaign hostile to the Soviet Union. This time, it was started under the pretext of "protecting whales from extermination by the Russians." It is a futile undertaking to look for ecological substantiation or scientific considerations in the position of the administration officials who have joined the campaign. It is all purely political from beginning to end.

The USSR fully shares the view that it is necessary to preserve and restore stocks of whales in the world ocean. At the same time, it adheres to the principles of regulating the whaling operations in accordance with a convention directed at the rational catch of the varieties of whales specified on a strictly scientific basis under effective international control within the framework of the International Whaling Commission (IWC).

Many researchers maintain that the continuation of rational whaling operations is quite justified and can be carried out without damage to the population of whales. This not only contributes to expanding research. But also to getting important data on various aspects of biology, which cannot be obtained any other way.

Special scientific groups of skilled specialists work aboard Soviet whaling vessels. The results of their research are made public at all-union conferences on marine mammals held in the USSR. The Soviet Union shows much concern for the conservation of nature: The use of animals rests on a rational basis with the protection of their habitat, and conditions for freedom and multiplication.

CSO: 1812/211

## CENTRAL COMMITTEE DEPARTMENT HEAD ADDRESSES CANADIAN CP CONGRESS

LD061113 Moscow TASS in English 0842 GMT 6 Apr 85

[Text] Toronto, April 6, TASS--TASS correspondent Artem Melikyan reports:

The priority task of all the peoples of the world is to put an end to the arms race, to prevent its spread into space and to take practical disarmament measures, William Kashtan, general secretary of the Communist Party of Canada, said in a report at the 26th congress of the Communist Party of Canada, taking place here. He pointed out that the USSR stood for preventing the militarisation of space, for ending the nuclear arms race and for the elimination of nuclear weapons. The USSR, William Kashtan pointed out, guides itself not only by its own interests but by the interests of the whole of mankind.

The Canadian Communists, he said, consider it their duty to redouble efforts to explain to the working people and all the Canadians whence the real threat to peace comes. It is not socialism but U.S. imperialism that threatens the independence of Canada, its sovereignty and its very existence. The general secretary stressed in his criticism of the foreign policy of the conservative government, which is willing to support the White House's dangerous policy, including Reagan's "Star Wars" programme.

The Communist Party of Canada rejects this course and is opposed to the "Star Wars" programme. It advocates a freeze on the world's nuclear arms arsenals and renunciation of the first use of nuclear weapons. We demand that Canada become a nuclear weapon-free zone, that the agreement on testing U.S. cruise missiles and all the other types of U.S. weapons be scrapped and that Canada withdraw from NATO and the North American Air Defence Command (NORAD). Special importance is attached today to the Communist Party's slogan of joining forces in the struggle against U.S. imperialism, in the struggle for peace, jobs and independence for Canada. The Communists should strive to ensure that this slogan becomes the demand of the entire Canadian people, William Kashtan stressed.

The imperialist forces, the general secretary continued, keep intervening in the internal affairs of Nicaragua, Middle Eastern countries and Africa and are carrying out subversive activities against Kampuchea and Afghanistan. The United States threatens to invade other countries under the pretext of "struggle against terrorism" while actually being itself the world's largest

terrorist force. However, the world balance of forces has not changed in favour of imperialism. Socialism is the decisive force in the struggle for peace and social progress, and it is growing ever stronger. It is socialism that is containing imperialism and denying it the possibility to unleash war.

Following Kashtan's report, the delegates began debates on the report and on the draft of the main political resolution.

The congress was addressed by the leader of a delegation of the CPSU, Pavel Smolskiy, deputy chief of the department of Organisational Party Work of the CPSU Central Committee. Delegates welcomed a message of greetings from the CPSU Central Committee to the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of Canada with tumultuous applause.

The congress continues its proceedings.

CSO: 1812/210

## ZIMBABWE AGRICULTURE, LAND REFORM PROBLEMS DISCUSSED

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Jan 85 p 4

[Article by M. Zenovich: "The Concerns Of the Cultivators. Urgent Problems Of The Economy Of Zimbabwe."]

[Text] In various regions of Zimbabwe, thousands of landless peasants are deliberately settling on fallow plots of ground which do not belong to them. People construct slapdash huts out of clay and reeds and till the soil by the most primitive means. "As a result of poor organization and the lack of agricultural technology, very few have planted enough corn to hold out to the next harvest," states the newspaper HERALD published in Harare.

Elias N'yamondoro, an agricultural worker from the L'vinoye Logovo area, was fired by a farm owner in December of last year.

"There was no place to go," he says, "so I came here, to the Chinoyi region. I know that this is illegal, but we think that after such actions on our part the need to allot us land will become clear."

N'Yamondoro is talking about 500 unfortunates like himself who tore down the fence of one of the commercial farms 30 kilometers from Chinoyi and settled on uncultivated plots. According to the data of the local representative of the Ministry of Lands, Resettlement and Rural Development, more than 7,000 people have already settled in these parts.

The attempts of the peasants of Zimbabwe to resolve the land question without prior permission reveal one of the most acute problems of the country. The problem is the growing pressure of the lower social classes who are demanding the liquidation of customs which are a legacy of the colonial era.

Highways radiate out from Harare like level ribbons to all corners of Zimbabwe. A traveler can get the impression that in front of him is a well-managed country where there is no "land hunger." If you look carefully though, you can make out posts hidden in the high grass joined by threads of barbed wire. The owners of these lands are Anglo-American Corporation, Lonro, Libigz and other large western companies which have preserved their leading positions in the economy of Zimbabwe right up to the present. Side by side with them is the so-called "modern commercial sector."

This term is used here to describe several thousand farms belonging to white settlers, predominantly British. About 5,000 farmers hold in their hands half the arable lands. Those lands lie, moreover, in areas distinguished by high fertility. This is precisely where the landless peasantry is at present rushing.

Communal lands, where there are approximately 700,000 farms according to official statistics, are overcrowded. The land there is of low fertility. It cannot feed all those living on it. The position of agricultural workers like N'yamondoro is especially difficult. The living and working of this large detachment of the rural proletariat are, as before, quite grim.

You often hear in Zimbabwe that the "Chimurenga,"--"the liberation war" in the language of the Shona,--was a war for land. The land question expressed in the most acute form the contradictions engendered by the development of capitalism in colonial times. The land question figured prominently in the negotiations in London on the conditions for the granting of independence to Zimbabwe. The compromise which was reached is recorded in the present constitution. Its essence is that the taking of land from white farmers is permitted only in return for sizable compensation. And even then, this concerns only so-called "under-utilized lands." In practice, the owners cede the infertile plots to the state and either exploit the best lands themselves, or sell them or lease them at high prices.

Significantly, the capitalist sector is striving today to acquire allies among the African kulaks, calculating that in alliance with them it can defend its own class interests. In the opinion of the Zimbabwean magazine MOTO, the kulak-capitalist stratum is gathering strength.

In the years since independence, definite efforts have been made by the ruling party, ZANU, to solve the agrarian question. About 400,000 hectares of land have been purchased, which have been distributed to 26,000 of the very poorest families. Nevertheless, as the Zimbabwean press points out, the changes in the countryside have affected only a small number of peasants.

"With respect to the agricultural sector," declared Robert Mugabe, president of ZANU, "we are energetically carrying out a policy of land distribution in order to give thousands of people the opportunity to improve their position, preferably on the basis of a cooperative system. We are allocating to this sector much of what it needs, including credit and opportunities for the training of cadres and the expansion of production, as well as marketing assistance. The cooperative movement has received an enormous push thanks to the energy and enthusiasm of thousands of former front-line soldiers who fought for freedom, young people and members of the party and activists of women's organizations who have wholeheartedly answered the call of the party to develop a socialist cooperative system."

Member of the ZANU Politburo N. Shamuyarira noted that the creation and development of the cooperative movement is at the center of the government's attention. Although persons desiring to join cooperatives are occasionally intimidated by cock-and-bull stories, progress is being made.

The swift growth of the cooperative movement in the country is an obvious fact. From 1980 to 1984, the number of registered farms grew from 376 to 1,340. This is not just quantitative growth. Along with the marketing cooperatives, production cooperatives are beginning to play a larger and larger role although they remain few in number. According to the data of the Department of Cooperative Development, by the beginning of 1984 the country had 249 production cooperatives uniting about 11,000 people. Income is distributed based on the amount of labor put in.

An organization of production-marketing cooperatives of Zimbabwe has been created, which unites more than 70 farms. Recently it acquired its own mouth-piece, the newspaper VANGUARD, which is published by the first printer's cooperative in the country. A broad exchange of experience is carried out on its pages. Members of the cooperatives talk about the changes in their own fortunes and call for a "strengthening of the unity of all progressive forces." The difficulties engendered by the existing system of capitalist production are condemned.

Simukay is one such cooperative approximately 40 kilometers from the capital. It joins more than 80 persons, the majority of whom are former fighters of the liberation forces. Upon demobilization, they acquired 4,000 hectares of uncultivated land and essential tools and construction materials.

"All of us," says R. Nkolomi, who is one of them, "work together on any job. We strive to raise production to a level where we can successfully compete in the market with the commercial farms."

The local people, who are hired farm hands for the most part, are not hurrying to join the cooperative for the time being. They say that they prefer to wait and see how things go. "But recently," remarks R. Nkolomi, "a few of them came to us and said that there is a lot to their liking. I am convinced that they will join us in time."

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CSO: 1807/188

## ROLES OF SOCIALIST, 'INDEPENDENT' TRADE UNIONS CONTRASTED

PM030817 Moscow NEW TIMES in English No. 13, Mar 85 p 31

[Yevgeniy Shashkov reply to reader's letter under the rubric "Taking Up A Point"]

[Text] As far as I can judge, trade unions in the socialist countries have become an integral part of the state machine. Alongside other components of the governmental apparatus they occupy themselves with matters which, in my opinion, are not properly their concern. The function of trade unions is to protect the interests of the working people and not impose the will of the state on them. The idea underlying the Solidarity organization in Poland appeals to me more, though experience shows that under socialism independent trade unions are not allowed to function freely.

[Signed] Rainer Knor Frankfurt am Main, West Germany

What determines the nature of the relations between the trade unions and the state? Obviously the class character of the state. If the state stands for and upholds primarily the interests of Big Business, of the monopoly upper crust which battens on the exploitation of the working people, the trade unions are called upon to defend the workers against the employers and the state machine itself. In these circumstances the two sides are in constant conflict inasmuch as the class interests of labour and capital are incompatible.

After the victory of the socialist revolution, when the working class has taken power into its own hands, the relations between the trade unions and the state apparatus acquire a fundamentally different character. The state and the unions are homogeneous from the class standpoint. Both represent the working class and all other sections of the working people and stand for their interests. Under socialism the trade unions' task is not to win rights for the working people, but to help give effect to the wide range of rights proclaimed and guaranteed by the state.

This is one of the cardinal features of trade union work which distinguishes the unions in the socialist countries from those in capitalist countries. Under socialism the state and the trade unions are allies not adversaries.

Take social policy, for instance. One of the main functions of the socialist state is to protect the interests of the working people, to improve their working conditions and labour protection in general. Particular attention is paid to raising the living standard of the working people and expanding the education system, cultural institutions, the distributive network, public utilities, and the public health and social security systems. And these are only a few of the areas in which the activities of the socialist state and the socialist trade unions coincide and in which they work in close cooperation.

This is not to say that the unions have become an "appendage" to the state or, as you say, an integral part of its machinery. Anyone who thinks so is clearly ignorant of the fact that in the socialist countries the trade unions take a direct part in the formation of government bodies and the drafting of laws and government decisions. Suffice it to say that in recent years the Soviet code of labour legislation and the laws on the protection of the atmosphere and on work collectives were drawn up on the initiative and with the direct participation of the trade unions.

You say that the function of the trade unions is to protect the interests of the working people and not impose the will of the state on them. True enough, defence of the workers' interests is indeed the unions' most important task. Incidentally, here too our unions enjoy far greater rights and have a much broader field of action than those in the West.

Under our trade union statutes, union technical inspectors have the right to close down a factory section or department or even the entire plant in cases of serious violations of safety and other regulations. Moreover, during such stoppages the workers are entitled to their full wages. Some time ago production at a cement mill in Kiev was stopped in this way by inspectors of the local trade union committee. Control to protect the workers' health and to ensure safety on the job is exercised in the case not only of operating plants but also of projects for industrial installations and machines irrespective of whether the projects have been drawn up at home or abroad. When the well-known Italian Fiat concern submitted its initial project for the giant Togliatti auto plant, Soviet trade union experts, proceeding from the labour protection and safety requirements in force in the U.S.S.R. had some 500 changes introduced in it, although according to Italian standards, the project was quite acceptable.

Or take this example, the Soviet trade unions exercise supervision over the observance of labour legislation by the management. No Soviet industrial or office worker can be dismissed without the written consent of the local trade union committee. Soviet trade unions have the right to file complaints against executives and demand their dismissal. In 1982 alone 9,000 executives of different levels were removed from their posts in this way. This fact has a relevance also to your remark about the unions imposing the will of the state on their members. The given instance is clearly evidence to the contrary.

You say that the idea underlying the Polish Solidarity and other "independent" unions appeals to you. But what are they "independent" of? Of the cause of socialism, of their own people? The activity of solidarity clearly showed what lies behind the "independence" of trade unions.

I should like to remind you that neither the rules nor the programme of Solidarity set forth any tasks which could be said to belong among trade union functions proper. It would be useless to search in the activity of this organization for any steps really aimed at improving the workers' conditions. The provocative strikes which in the final analysis only created hardships for the workers and led to the decline of production certainly cannot be seriously classified as such. Eventually Solidarity embarked on openly counterrevolutionary activity. Today only the very naive can believe that Solidarity's plans were confined only to the establishment of "independent" unions the outward form of trade unions was merely used as an expedient with the help of which the socialist system was to be done away with in Poland. It is only natural and logical that there should be no room in socialist countries for organizations that harbour such plans.

CSO: 1812/213

INTERNATIONAL

**GAPUROV RECEIVES MPR MEDAL**

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian on 20 April 1985 carries on page 1 a 300-word TurkmenINFORM report entitled "Presentation of a Decoration of a Friendly Country." On 19 April the general consul of the Mongolian People's Republic, Dechin Puntsagiyn, presented the medal "60 Years of the Mongolian People's Revolution" to M.G. Gapurov, Turkmen SSR first secretary, for his participation in the development of friendship and fraternal relations between Mongolia and Turkmenistan. Gapurov thanked the MPR Communist Party Central Committee and averred that he will continue to work for the further development of friendship between the MPR and the Turkmen SSR. A large group of party, soviet, and union workers, as well as workers of kolkhozes and sovkhozes of the TuSSR Mary Oblast were awarded the medals "60 Years of the Mongolian People's Revolution" and "Friendship," as the Mary Oblast is the "adopted brother" of the MPR's Middle Gobi aimak.

CSO: 1830/540

INTERNATIONAL

BRIEFS

AFGHAN CLERGY IN UZBEK SSR--A group of representatives of clergy from the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan became acquainted with life in Uzbekistan. They made a trip to Samarkand and through the cities of the Fergana Valley, where they visited industrial enterprises, kolkhozes, sovkhozes and educational institutions. Officials of the Afghan church [sic] visited the Spiritual Administration of Muslims of Central Asia and Kazakhstan where they had a prolonged dialog. [Text] [Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 10 Apr 85 p 3]

BELGIAN SOCIALISTS IN TASHKENT--(UZTAG)--A group of party workers of the Socialist Party of Belgium (Francophone), headed by party chairman Guy Spitaels, is becoming acquainted with the life of the republic. On 29 March the guests were received in the Uzbekistan Communist Party Central Committee and the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. [Excerpts] [Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 31 Mar 85 p 1]

PORTRUGUESE GROUP IN UZBEKISTAN--(UZTAG)--Days of Portugal began 11 April in Uzbekistan. A delegation of the Portugal-USSR Association has arrived in Tashkent to participate in it. It is headed by Luis Manuel Alves di Campos Catarino, a member of the association's council presidium, a member of the national directorate of the Portuguese Democratic Movement Party, and a deputy of the Assembly of the Portuguese Republic. [Excerpt] [Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 12 Apr 85 p 2]

CSO: 1807/282

NATIONAL

JPRS-UPS-85-044  
22 May 1985

## LESSONS OF LENINIST STRUGGLE AGAINST KAUTSKYISM STUDIED

Moscow VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS in Russian No 2, Feb 85 (signed to press 30 Jan 85)  
pp 81-96

[Article by V. I. Kas'yanenko, doctor of history, professor: "From the History of the Struggle of V. I. Lenin and the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Against Kautskyism"]

[Text] The Leninist party has rich experience in the struggle against anti-Marxism and the falsifiers of real socialism. The most important place in this experience is occupied by the criticism of Kautskyism,<sup>1</sup> to which Lenin ascribed special significance and left a rich legacy in this respect. Kautskyism anticipated almost all of the basic ideas of contemporary reformism and revisionism: The opposition of Lenin to Marx, the representation of Leninism as an exclusively Russian phenomenon, the argument about the "unripeness" of Russia for a socialist revolution, the opposition of the dictatorship of the proletariat to democracy, etc.

Right-wing social democracy is also today a basic transmitter of bourgeois influence on the proletariat. Its policy objectively helps the monopolies and the capitalist states to restrain the revolutionary actions of the masses, inhibits their struggle for socialism, and nourishes in many respects anti-communist and antisocialist propaganda.<sup>2</sup> Present-day opportunistic ideology is in many respects the heir of the opportunism and revisionism of the Second International, including Kautskyism. In connection with this, it is exceedingly urgent and instructive to turn to the history of the struggle of the Leninist party against Kautskyism during the first years of Soviet power. Education through history, as the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, comrade K. U. Chernenko emphasizes, was and remains "an important instrument of the education of a civic spirit, Soviet patriotism, and internationalism."<sup>3</sup>

Soviet scholars have written quite a few works which contain a characterization of the evolution of Kautsky from Marxism to revisionism and apostasy [renegatsvo], offer a critique of his anticommunist and anti-Soviet conceptions, and demonstrate his cooperation with the Mensheviks on the basis of anti-Sovietism.<sup>4</sup> Taking this into account, the present article examines primarily poorly illuminated aspects of the history of the struggle of our party, headed by Lenin, against Kautskyism during the years 1917-1922.

The experience of the Great October convincingly showed that the path to socialism does not lead through reform and agreement with the bourgeoisie, but through revolution, the liquidation of the rule of the bourgeoisie and private ownership of the basic means of production and the broad involvement of the masses in the creation of the new society. The victory in October 1917 disproved the dogmas of the theorists of the Second International and confirmed the Leninist conception of the development of the bourgeois-democratic revolution into the socialist revolution. The decrees of the Soviet power, the first Soviet Constitution --the RSFSR Constitution of 1918, and the second Program of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks), developed under the guidance of V. I. Lenin and with his direct participation, were manifestos of social justice. The dictatorship of the proletariat in the shape of Soviet power demonstrated great advantages and unprecedented perspectives of social progress. ". . . We have a right to be proud and we are proud," Lenin declared, "that to our lot fell the good fortune to begin the building of the Soviet state and to begin by this a new epoch of world history, the epoch of the rule of the new class, oppressed in all capitalist countries and moving everywhere to a new life, to victory over the bourgeoisie, to the dictatorship of the proletariat, and to the deliverance of mankind from the yoke of capital and from imperialist wars."<sup>5</sup>

The enthusiastic attitude toward the October Revolution was natural on the part of the international proletariat and the progressive public of all countries, for whom the ideas of the Bolsheviks and their revolutionary undertakings were an inspiring example. The policy and revolutionary practice of Bolshevism were a powerful factor of the propagation of the ideas of scientific socialism.

The October Revolution was ardently welcomed by the veteran of the international working class movement, Klara Zetkin. In the article "The Struggle for Freedom and Peace in Russia",<sup>6</sup> she showed the law-governed nature of the coming to power of the Bolsheviks and emphasized their internationalism and aspiration to peace. In this and others of her statements, K. Zetkin noted the creative approach of the Bolsheviks to the application of Marxism. Sincere sympathies for the Bolsheviks were expressed by Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, Franz Mehring, and other followers of revolutionary Marxism in Germany. "The Russian Soviet Republic," K. Liebknecht, for example, wrote, "became the banner of struggle, the banner of the International; it encourages others, fills those who are vacillating with courage, and increases tenfold the courage and resoluteness of the fighters."<sup>7</sup>

But in the same Germany, as well as in other countries, there were people who called themselves socialists, but in reality were the henchmen of the bourgeoisie and the pedlars of its ideology, which began to pour abuse on the October Revolution and the party of the Bolsheviks. And an extremely conspicuous part among them was played by the chief theorist of the Second International, Karl Kautsky. In essence, through his pamphlet "The Dictatorship of the Proletariat"<sup>8</sup>, he laid the foundation for a broad anti-Soviet campaign of slander and misinformation of social democracy about the Bolshevik Party and its leader.

Kautskyism gave rise to the myth of the disparity of "the Bolshevik experiments" to the teaching of Marx. The Kautskyites attempted to contrast Leninism with Marxism, the experience of the Russian working class--with the experience of the European proletariat, and to "demonstrate" the absence of the necessary conditions in Russia for the building of socialism by its own efforts. Kautsky

portrayed the dictatorship of the proletariat as an attempt to jump through the "natural" bourgeois-democratic stage of development. "The dictatorship of the Bolsheviks," he asserted, "was adapted to the way of life of the Russian people of that time, but not of the people of Western civilization."<sup>9</sup> Indignation and anger were called forth in honest people in Russia and abroad by Kautsky's pamphlets "Terrorism and Communism" (1919) and "From Democracy to State Slavery" (1921).<sup>10</sup> Falsifying Marxism, the achievements and difficulties of the young Soviet society, and the policy of the Bolshevik Party, Kautsky represented the dictatorship of the proletariat as the manifestation of terrorism and violence. For many decades, bourgeois ideologists and revisionists have armed themselves with these Kautskyite fabrications in the struggle against Marxism-Leninism.

Realizing his high responsibility for the cause of the party and for the fate of revolutionary Marxism, as well as taking into account the past authority of Kautsky abroad, V. I. Lenin, in spite of being extraordinarily overworked with concerns about the strengthening of the Soviet state, immediately joined battle with the Kautskyite anti-Soviet falsifications and lies. His articles, books and oral statements contained a well-reasoned critique of the ideology of opportunism and revisionism of the falsifiers of the fabrications of Kautsky and his confederates.

Of principal significance in the defense of the Marxist understanding of the ways, methods and moving forces of the revolutionary transformation of society and in the exposure of the falsifications concerning socialist construction and the prospects of the development of the young Soviet society and the policy of the Bolsheviks was Lenin's book "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky".<sup>11</sup> Written in a sharply polemical key and permeated with the spirit of adherence to class and party principles, it was a model of the defense of the strategy and tactics of the Bolshevik Party and the exposure of revisionism, opportunism and apostasy. Lenin revealed the inconsistency of Kautsky as a historian, who demonstrates inexcusable inattention to such very important events of world history as the Paris Commune, "turns away from the truth, ignores generally known facts, and acts like a sycophant."<sup>12</sup> Lenin exposed the essence and methods of the falsifications of Kautsky and other theorists of the Second International in regard to questions of the Marxist teaching about the state, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and about the ways and conditions of increasing the national well-being.

Talking about the social-democratic leaders of the Kautskyite orientation, Lenin noted that they were bogged down in narrow-minded prejudices of comparatively "peaceful" capitalism and bourgeois parliamentarism and were not in a position to understand Soviet power and the dictatorship of the proletariat. These people, he wrote, believed entirely or half-way the bourgeois lie about Soviet power in Russia and were not able to distinguish the essence of a new, proletarian democracy, a democracy for workers, a socialist democracy embodied in Soviet power, from bourgeois democracy, before which they bowed down like slaves, calling it "pure democracy" or "democracy" in general.<sup>13</sup>

Considering it mistaken to transform the Soviets into organs of power, Kautsky and Hilferding, for example, proposed to combine them with the Constituent Assembly. The idea of combining the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie with the

dictatorship of the proletariat, Lenin answered him, deserves only ridicule,<sup>14</sup> it is an insult to the essence of the October Revolution.<sup>15</sup>

Lenin showed the inconsistency of the conceptions of Kautsky about the events taking place at that time in the Soviet village; "jumble and muddle" he called the opinions of the Kautskyites about the interrelations of the working class with the working peasantry,<sup>16</sup> the conclusions about the character of property in Soviet Russia, and the role of the working class as the owner of the means of production.<sup>17</sup>

The Russian Mensheviks and their confederates abroad reproached Lenin for calling Kautsky a lackey of the bourgeoisie. "This is a fact, gentlemen, however angry you are!" Lenin answered them. The Scheidemanns of VORWAERTS and the millionaires of the Entente are certainly not in collusion with me when they heap praises on Kautsky and hold him up as a weapon in the struggle with world Bolshevism. Even if he did not realize and did not wish it, in relation to the bourgeoisie Kautsky has turned out to be exactly what I described him to be."<sup>18</sup>

Having slipped into the camp of anticomunism and anti-Sovietism, Kautsky for a long time played an active role of an ordinary falsifier, "a consultant of the yellow press of all countries."<sup>19</sup>

On the basis of numerous examples from political and scientific practice, Lenin showed that Kautsky lagged behind the Russian Mensheviks, utilizing their information and in many respects repeating their sophisms and mistakes.<sup>20</sup> "History has played a joke," Lenin noted in connection with this, "and has compelled the opportunists of a backward country to anticipate the opportunists of a number of advanced countries."<sup>21</sup> Speaking about figures of Kautsky's type, Lenin concluded that these gentlemen are not able to think in a revolutionary manner, they argue like "pathetic bourgeois democrats", they make a fool of themselves and they make a fool of the working class, they are a thousand times more dangerous than direct opponents.<sup>22</sup> Lenin derided attempts to solve the problems of the transition from capitalism to socialism, proceeding from general phrases about freedom, equality and democracy "in general", etc., as was done by Kautsky, Martov and other "heroes" of the Second International, revealing through this their nature of petty bourgeois, Philistines, and narrow-minded persons, who in terms of their ideology slavishly trudge behind the bourgeoisie.<sup>23</sup> Lenin showed that Kautsky borrowed from the Russian Mensheviks a considerable amount of theoretical and factual material, which gave a distorted conception of the course of the revolution and the practice of socialist construction. For example, speaking about the Soviets as a form of state organization, he simply re-wrote the Menshevik literature. "Kautsky slavishly repeats Martov's words, taking fragments from the theoretical controversy between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks and transplanting these fragments, without criticism and meaning, to the general theoretical and general European field," Lenin notes. "The result was a hodge-podge that--had he acquainted himself with these arguments of Kautsky--would have called forth Homeric laughter in every class-conscious Russian worker."<sup>24</sup>

In September 1918, PRAVDA published the article "Karl Kautsky and Henriette Roland-Holst on Bolshevism". Having read it, Lenin on the same day outlined

a number of counterpropaganda actions. Lenin proposed to collect everything written by Kautsky on the Bolsheviks and to arrange theoretical cooperation against Kautskyism with the left-wingers ("Spartakusbund members") of German Social Democracy, with the aim of publishing appropriate counterpropaganda literature in German.<sup>25</sup> Lenin's program of struggle against Kautskyism was passionately supported and realized by the theoretical cadres of our party and by foreign communists.<sup>26</sup>

Lenin's defense of the Marxist demand for a class approach to the assessment of social phenomena (now already applicable to the practice of the construction of socialism, to the practical reality in Soviet Russia) refuted the traditional social-democratic dogmas about the ways, methods and stages of the transition of society to socialism. Simultaneously it taught the adherence to principles and the objective registration of the concrete conditions of our country, where rapid processes of the destruction of the old, bourgeois-landowner structure, and the creation of the new, socialist structure of life had begun. Lenin's methodological instructions concerning the correct attitude toward the achievements, contradictions and difficulties in the process of socialist creation were of great significance also for the development of a realistic, scientifically substantiated policy and for the fight against the falsifiers and revisionists, who tried to make use of the contradictions and difficulties of the socialist construction of the first years after October for their mercenary-minded purposes.

The brilliant critique by Lenin of the renegades and falsifiers of the construction of real socialism in the new Russia was accompanied by the exposure of the methodological and political defects of their works. "The educated members of the intelligentsia, who imagine and call themselves socialists, are saturated through and through with bourgeois prejudices and kow-tow to the bourgeoisie," wrote Lenin in 1919, "such, in essence, is this entire company of writers."<sup>27</sup> The lackeys of the bourgeoisie, hypocrites and renegades like Kautsky and Martov, told lies about world socialism and deceived the masses; they could in no way lay claim to teaching the proletariat the struggle for a new life.<sup>28</sup> The slipping down from class positions, the deviation from the demands of the materialist dialectic, dogmatism and one-sidedness, the swindling and subservience to the bourgeoisie, and falsification by means of "cutting off from Marxism what for the bourgeoisie is unacceptable"--all this called forth the depravity, the unscientific character, and the harmfulness to the proletariat of the ideas and recommendations of the Kautskyites.

Lenin devoted a great deal of attention to the exposure of the falsifications, to which the right-of-center leaders of social-democracy resorted in the illumination of the policy of the party of the Bolsheviks in the course of, and after, the October Revolution. In his assessment of the Soviet economic and political order, the first Constitution of the RSFSR, and the decrees of the Soviet power, Kautsky called attention exclusively to the formal-legal aspects, discussing them from non-class positions, but in essence--[from the positions] of bourgeois democracy. According to Lenin's definition, Kautsky in this case came forward as a representative of "lackey's science", exposing his essence as a typical Judas Golovlev.<sup>29</sup> "In nothing is the bankruptcy of the ideological leaders of the Second International, people like Hilferding and Kautsky, so strikingly expressed as in their complete inability to understand the significance of Soviet

or proletarian democracy, its relationship to the Paris Commune, its place in history, and its necessity as a form of dictatorship of the proletariat."<sup>30</sup>

Exposing the falsity and groundlessness of the accusations, which the Kautskyites advanced against the Bolsheviks in connection with violations of one sort or another of the principles of bourgeois democracy in the course of the revolution, Lenin noted that the arguments of Kautsky and others of that ilk in all of these cases do not differ in the least from the simple lie, slander, and abuse, of which all the organs of the press and information of the world bourgeoisie and the Russian counterrevolution were full at that time.<sup>31</sup>

Lenin convincingly revealed the unity of the ideological, methodological and political views and conceptions of the Kautskyites and the Mensheviks in regard to many questions of the international revolutionary movement, socialist construction in our country, and the historic mission of Bolshevism.

The social practice of the young Republic of Soviets confirmed Lenin's conclusions concerning the difficulty of the processes of the democratic renewal of society, concerning the objective necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the conditions of the transition period from capitalism to socialism, and concerning a concrete-historical and class approach to the questions of democracy, political rights and freedoms. Lenin's methodology made it possible to reveal to the theoretical and propaganda cadres of the party the regularities and contradictions of the processes of the democratization of all spheres of social life, to get to know the real connections of the times and the peculiarities of the concrete conditions.

Already F. Engels warned that "pure" democracy during the revolution will become for the bourgeoisie "the last anchor of salvation", that "the entire reactionary mass joined around pure democracy. . ." will come forward as the opponent of the proletariat, which has taken power into its hands.<sup>32</sup> Playing up to the bourgeoisie, the Kautskyites made use of the very idea of "pure democracy" for the struggle against the Bolsheviks and Soviet power.

Practice has fully confirmed the Leninist conclusion that revisionism in the sphere of theory, anti-Bolshevism and anti-Sovietism in the sphere of politics, and falsification and falsehood in the sphere of science pave the way to opportunism and anticomunism. The ideological-theoretical and historical legacy of the Bolshevik Party and the works of Lenin contain precise characterizations of revisionism and anti-Sovietism, Kautskyism and Menshevism, and show their incompatibility with creative Marxism-Leninism, their harmfulness to the real socialism that has been established in Soviet society, and to the interests and prospects of the international working class movement.

Lenin's critique of Kautskyism was timely and convincing. It revealed the real ideological-theoretical and moral-political cast of mind of the Kautskyites and disclosed their apostasy and servility to the bourgeoisie.

In the polemic with the Kautskyites, Lenin provided a Marxist explanation of many social processes and phenomena and showed the law-governed character of the October Revolution and Soviet power, defended the scientific foundations of the policy and practical activity of the Bolsheviks, revealed the theoretical

and ideological-political degeneration of the leaders of the Second International, and substantiated the ideological-theoretical platform of the international communist movement.

In revealing the political and moral state of affairs of the revisionist and slanderous constructions of the Kautskyites, Lenin assessed them from class positions. "When Kautsky comes out against us and writes books," Lenin said, "then we carry on polemics with him as a class enemy."<sup>33</sup> The conclusions drawn by Lenin in the polemic with the Kautskyites concerning the revolution, the state, the dictatorship of the proletariat, democracy and other questions were a creative development of Marxism in new historical conditions.

The analysis of the theoretical, ideological-political, and organizational activity of Lenin and the Bolshevik Party during the first years of Soviet power, and the entire experience of the struggle against the Kautskyites and the Mensheviks show that the successes of the antirevisionist and antifalsifier struggle are secured by an attitude based on principle and creativity toward the revolutionary theory and practice of the social creativity of the masses, by a class and concrete-historical approach to the phenomena and processes of social development, and by the ability to apply the dialectic-materialist methodology of their analysis and assessments. The analysis of social development made by Lenin and his conclusions about the prospects of social creation in our country were of historic significance: They became the reference point in the ideological struggle against imperialism and in defense of the new order.

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The ideological struggle in the international arena went on without respite. Lenin participated in it actively and with distinction, not giving in to provocation and concentrating the fire of his criticism, force of argumentation and exposure on the most important actions of the ideological opponent, which were related to the theoretical and practical problems of the development of the international working class and communist movement, and the creation of a new society in our country. On the correct solutions of these problems depended the historical fate of the teaching of K. Marx and the prospects and results of the struggle of the communists for their ideals.

In speeches at the congresses of the Communist International and the congresses of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks), in pamphlets and articles published in PRAVDA, KOMMUNISTICHESKIY INTERNATSIONAL, and other organs of the press, Lenin defended the Marxist position with sound argumentation and passion, generalized the experience of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) with respect to the guidance of the socio-political and economic life of Soviet society, and actively exposed the anti-Soviet actions of the Kautskyites, who in unison with bourgeois propaganda slandered the Soviet power, issuing appeals to fight against international Bolshevism.

In February 1919, a conference of the Second International which had gathered in Bern, turned to the Soviet government with the request to allow a special commission<sup>34</sup>, consisting of K. Kautskiy, F. Adler, R. Hilferding, and other leaders of the Second International, entry into the RSFSR. In preparing a draft reply to this request, Lenin gave a class assessment of the Bern Conference as non-socialist and considered it necessary to underscore that permission for the entry

of its delegation is given as a bourgeois commission.<sup>35</sup> He spoke with ridicule about the "distinguished inspectors from Bern", who, intending to inspect Soviet Russia, nevertheless disseminated all sorts of fables about the Bolsheviks.<sup>36</sup> "Yellow socialists, who now, after having gathered in Bern, intend to make us happy with a visit of distinguished foreigners. . ."<sup>37</sup>--this is how Lenin wrote about this in the spring of 1919 in the pamphlet "The Successes and Difficulties of Soviet Power". The arrival of this commission in our country, as is well known, did not materialize for a number of reasons. The Kautskyites continued to conduct their anti-Soviet, anti-Bolshevik policy and propaganda.

In the summer and fall of 1919, Lenin writes sharply polemical articles and letters, in which the critique of Kautskyism was intensified and Marxist views on questions of democracy, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and parliamentarism were defended. In the articles "On the Tasks of the Third International (Ramsey MacDonald on the Third International)", "In the Servants' Quarters", "How the Bourgeoisie Utilizes Renegades", in letters to Sylvia Pankhurst, Loriot, the Italian, French and German communists, and in other works of this period, Lenin comes forward not only as a theorist of Marxism and the leader of the Soviet state, but also as a propagandist of the experience of Soviet power, as a critic of "the ideological life" on that side of the barricade (in that camp).<sup>38</sup> These and other statements by Lenin and the Theses on Bourgeois Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, the Platform of the Communist International, the resolution "On the Attitude Toward 'Socialist' Currents and Toward the Bern Conference", the theses "On the International Situation and on the Policy of Agreement", the resolution "On the White Terror", the "Manifesto of the Communist International to the Proletarians of the Whole World", and the appeal "To the Workers of All Countries", which were adopted by the 1st Congress of the Third International, armed communists and revolutionary workers with class reference points and with correct assessments of the events taking place in the world and in Russia.

Lenin provided a precise political portrait of the Kautskyites from a class point of view. According to his assessment, these were people "without ideas, without character, without policy, without honor, without conscience, the living embodiment of the confusion of the Philistines, who in theory stand for the socialist revolution, but actually were not able to understand it when it began, and who defend in renegade manner "democracy" in general, i. e., actually defend bourgeois democracy."<sup>39</sup>

One of the striking confirmations of the correctness of this assessment by Lenin is the following fact. The international community became the witness of an the unprecedented conduct of Kautsky and Co., who in 1919 did not come to Moscow as "distinguished inspectors", but in the fall of 1920 suddenly turned out to be in Menshevik Georgia. This manifestation of their ideological and political solidarity with the Georgian Mensheviks in the conditions that had developed at that time was a dangerous provocation.

It is a well-known fact that during the Menshevik rule Georgia was on the verge of economic catastrophe. The poverty of the masses, unemployment in the cities and lack of land in the villages, the political alienation of the workers, the growth of speculation and high prices, the decline of culture, the anti-Soviet foreign policy and the adventurist cooperation with European capital and the

White Guards--all of this indicated the complete bankruptcy of Menshevism.

Giving concrete expression to social-democratic ideas as applied to Georgia, N. Zhordaniya gave a bit of instruction to the members of the parliament: "You believe that, if the government is a socialist one, it must realize socialism. This is the view of the Bolsheviks. . . We think otherwise. We say, when socialism will be realized in other countries, then it will also be realized in our country. . ."<sup>40</sup> Being guided by the dogmas of West European social-democracy, the Georgian Mensheviks created a typical bourgeois state headed by its constituent assembly [uchredilka], having pushed the Soviets into the background. This "pure democracy" in practice took root through force and repressions against the people.

Class contradictions in Georgia became aggravated and there was an increase in the dissatisfaction with the Mensheviks on the part of the workers, especially in the regions where the national minorities resided. The Menshevik Party itself was in a state of disorder. Among the population the mood was growing in favor of the communists and the establishment of close relations with Soviet Russia and the other Soviet republics.<sup>41</sup> Trying to suppress it, the Menshevik "democrats" and the protectors of "freedom" resorted to force and executions. At one of the meetings in Moscow (7 April 1918), dedicated to the protest against the execution of Tiflis workers by the Mensheviks, Lenin gave a speech. Exposing the pharisaism and the treachery of the Mensheviks, he said: "Without weapons we cannot suppress our enemies, and this they understand exceedingly well, but they nevertheless try to discredit us. . . During this difficult time, the Mensheviks and the right-wing SR's, these gentle lambs, scream about our cruelty, forgetting about the fact that they supplied the gallows for comrade Shaumyan."<sup>42</sup> In two articles, published in PRAVDA under the general title "The Counterrevolutionaries of the Trans-Caucasus Under the Mask of Socialism", I. V. Stalin exposed the class essence and anti-popular character of the policy and procedures of the Georgian Mensheviks.<sup>43</sup>

An almost 3-year experience (1918-1921) convinced: "The pure democracy, created by the Mensheviks in Georgia according to the prescription of the Kautskyites, was a disguised dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The violence with the genuine patriots and internationalists, the physical extinction of the communists and all people with a friendly disposition toward Soviet Russia, and the brutal suppression of the strike movement were a typical manifestation of Menshevik "democracy". At the session of the Constituent Assembly of Georgia (14 January 1920), N. Zhordaniya declared: "Our path goes to Europe, the path of Russia--to Asia. I know that the enemies will say that we are supporters of imperialism, for this reason I must resolutely declare that I prefer the imperialists of the West to the fanatics of the East."<sup>44</sup> Not concealing their hostility to the Soviet republics, especially to the RSFSR, the Georgian Mensheviks sought support from the imperialists of the Western powers.

Anti-Sovietism and anti-Bolshevism were one of the factors of the spiritual kinship of the Georgian Mensheviks and the leaders of the Second International. The latter, regarding Menshevik Georgia as the embodiment of their ideals about "socialism", endeavored in every possible way to support Zhordaniya, Gegechkori, Tsereteli, Chkheidze, and other rulers of the "Menshevik kingdom".

In the middle of September 1920, the "socialist delegation" consisting of E. Vandervelde, R. MacDonald, P. Renaudel, K. Huysmans, T. Shaw, F. Snowden, and others, arrived in Georgia. Later Kautsky arrived.<sup>45</sup>

Having hardly stepped on Georgian soil, not having seen anything with their own eyes, they conducted anti-Soviet propaganda. ". . . Here, in Georgia, the red proletarian flag flutters over true freedom and sunny-joyous socialism," said Vandervelde in response to the welcome by Zhordaniya. "We have seen your mountains, have felt your sun, and have understood that it is the symbol of the sunny and bright socialist order."<sup>46</sup> Other guests from the Second International and local Mensheviks spoke in the same spirit, repeating Kautsky's familiar tirades about the "terror and horros" in Bolshevik Russia.

The communists and all the progressive political forces of Georgia exposed the real goals of the propaganda visit of the Kautskyites. "Let the yellow hosts receive their yellow guests!, wrote the Batum Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia in its proclamation. We, the revolutionary parties, can do nothing here, these are not our guests. Our sympathies are directed to where the detachments of the international proletarian army gather, merging into one, marching to storm the strongholds of capitalism, which are being defended by the remnants of the yellow International, these social-traitors. . ."<sup>47</sup> "Democratic capitalism," the communists proved, "is a dream of the broken-spirited petty bourgeois. . ."<sup>48</sup>

The communists, Mamiya Orakhelashvili noted, conducted a rather successful campaign against the "welcome guests" and "hosts". The Bolshevik press exposed not only their political, but also commercial intrigues. It turns out, the guests were engaged in the arrangement of concessions, in protection for the "aggrieved" compatriots-capitalists, etc.,<sup>49</sup> confirming Lenin's characterization of the Mensheviks and European Kautskyites as the lickspittles of the bourgeoisie.

Lulled by the sugary speeches of Zhordaniya and Co., Kautsky, in his speeches and in the article "On the Problems and Prospects of Socialism in Georgia",<sup>50</sup> written especially at the request of the local Mensheviks, recommended to them to be irreconcilable in the struggle against the Russian Bolsheviks and "the bonapartism of Moscow" and to expand the economic, ideological and military co-operation with capitalist Europe in order for themselves to become a part of Europe and to prepare for war with the Bolsheviks.<sup>51</sup>

Sensing the vacillation in the position of the Mensheviks and attempting to support their regime, the leaders of European social-democracy promised them all sorts of backing. "You are our hope, for Georgia is the only country that is headed by socialists," Huysmans appealed to them pathetically. "Your downfall will be our downfall, your victory--our victory. . . Do not blight our hopes."<sup>52</sup>

In conditions when the oppressed East experienced an increasingly great attraction to the Country of the Soviets, when among the workers of Georgia there was a steady growth in the mood to enter upon the road already being travelled by the workers and peasants of Russia, the Ukraine, Azerbaijan, and the other Soviet republics,<sup>53</sup> the Georgian Mensheviks began to conduct themselves increasingly more defiantly and provocatively. The trip of the leaders of the Second

International encouraged them to a warlike manner. Taking into account the difficult situation at that moment, especially in the Caucasus, Lenin called for restraint in regard to Menshevik Georgia, at the same time not missing the opportunity for a critique of its rulers, who betrayed the interests of the people proper, as well as the entire liberation movement.

Lenin knew about the contacts of the Georgian Mensheviks with the leaders of the Second International and the governments of the bourgeois states and parties in Europe. He attentively followed the stay of the "distinguished inspectors" of the yellow International. Having found out that the chairman of the editorial council of the State Publishing House, N. L. Meshcheryakov, brought the most interesting material from Tiflis, Lenin showed heightened interest in it. He actively promoted the most rapid publication of the pamphlets of N. L. Meshcheryakov on "the Menshevik reign".<sup>54</sup> In connection with the arrival of the distinguished guests from Europe, the journal KOMMUNISTICHESKIY INTERNATIONAL published the first exposé articles by M. Pavlovich and M. Tskhakaya.<sup>55</sup>

The anti-popular, traitorous policy of the Zhordaniya Government and the hopelessness, in these conditions, of the economic and political development of Georgia intensified the revolutionary mood of the workers and hastened the failure of the "Menshevik reign". The communists headed the insurrection that had become imminent. And, in spite of appeals for help to the Entente and the Armenian Dashnaks, the Mensheviks were unable to hold on to power any longer. The revolutionary detachments of the insurgents, together with the Red Army, which came to their help, swept the hated regime away in February 1921. The Menshevik government of N. Zhordaniya soon fled abroad. The former "democratic rulers" of Georgia, mourned by the European Kautskyites, shared the pitiful fate of the White emigration, the slanderers and enemies of the working people.

In April 1921, Lenin informed G. K. Ordzhonikidze about the fact that furious agitation was being conducted abroad (especially by Martov, Tsereteli, and others) against the RSFSR in connection with the establishment of Soviet power in Georgia and that for this reason it was necessary for the Georgian Revolutionary Committee to oppose "serious counteragitation" to this. Simultaneously Lenin asked that "materials against the Menshevik Georgian government" be collected and sent to Moscow for the Plenum of the Central Committee.<sup>56</sup> During the following three months, Lenin time and again studied documents about the Georgian Mensheviks, recommended them to N. L. Meshcheryakov, and asked to speed up the publication of counterpropaganda pamphlets for the purpose of exposing the true goals and results of the trip of the "socialist delegation" to Georgia and the position of the ispolkom of the Second International.<sup>57</sup> In conversation with the chairman of the Revolutionary Committee of Georgia, F. Makharadze, before his departure for Tiflis, Lenin especially called attention to the liberation of the masses from the past influence of Menshevism.<sup>58</sup>

Thanks to the persistent attention of Lenin, articles and pamphlets were written in the shortest possible time, in which the Kautskyite conceptions of socialism were subjected to detailed criticism, the antipopular actions of the Mensheviks were revealed, and the conduct of Kautsky, Vandervelde, and the other leaders of the Second International on the territory of Georgia and after their trip was condemned; their ostentatious optimism and the groundlessness of their promises and hopes were exposed. The assessments, conclusions and recommendations

of Kautsky, which he generously and self-confidently gave out to the Georgian Mensheviks, were ridiculed and completely refuted. "I . . . happened to live in Georgia for some time and precisely at the time when Kautsky lived there," wrote N. L. Meshcheryakov. I also saw this corner of Eden and for this reason I would like to do what Kautsky himself did not do: To present a number of facts and a number of illustrations to his unsubstantiated assertions.<sup>59</sup> On the basis of numerous examples, utilizing official documents, the "humour" and trickery, the amorality and the political blindness of the then rulers of Georgia were shown, concealed by the pseudoscientific phrases and opinions of Kautsky and his admirers from the party of Zhordaniya.

The disgraceful political and theoretical bankruptcy of the Georgian Mensheviks was graphic proof of the impracticability of their conceptions of the paths and methods of the transition to socialism, about the attitude to the people and its social creativity, and about the place and role of the revolutionary political party of the proletariat in the fortunes and aspirations of the workers. The failure of the social-democratic experiments and illusions, which Lenin had predicted, was natural. Lenin's assessments of the ideological-political and moral aspect of the social-traitors were also confirmed. During their flight from Georgia, Zhordaniya and his accomplices stole and took with them national valuables worth 10.5 million gold rubles.<sup>60</sup> The story of the "Georgian Gironde", which had fought for the creation of a "democratic republic" in accordance with Kautskyite prescriptions, came to conclusion with a crime before the people and the Fatherland.

The remnants of the Menshevik ideology and morality in Georgia were comparatively quickly overcome. This was a great political and ideological victory of the Bolsheviks, in the achievement of which the struggle against Kautskyism was of no small importance. But Kautsky and his confederates for a long time to come chewed over and repeated again and again the so-called "Georgian question", attempting to revive the experience of Zhordaniya and Co. Biased and with an anti-Soviet cause were the attempts of Kautsky, Vandervelde and others to compare the Menshevik "socialism" in Georgia with the socialist transformations in Soviet Russia. The works and speeches of the Kautskyites did not contain a grain of scientific analysis, they were saturated with propagandistic appeals, falsified materials picked up from anti-Soviet sources.

The aspiration of the Kautskyites--to advance, in their attacks on Soviet Russia, those assessment criteria that would discredit the policy and practical activity of the Bolsheviks headed by Lenin--ended in failure. Their critique fully revealed their scientific groundlessness and did not receive acknowledgement in the international working class movement. On the contrary, the events showed the complete correctness of Leninism and the general line of the Bolsheviks. "It is well known," R. I. Kosolapov and T. I. Oyberman write, "that Bolshevism developed and got stronger in the irreconcilable fundamental struggle against the opportunism of the leaders of the Second International. Were there really no Marxists among these leaders or at least no experts on the works of Marx and Engels? . . . But when the October Revolution happened, Kautsky, having deemed it "premature" and "illegitimate", in the name of "democracy" and in order not to ruin the victorious Russian proletariat through the dictatorship achieved by it, called for the overthrow of Soviet power."<sup>61</sup>

Only the Bolsheviks, headed by Lenin, did not permit the vulgarization of Marxism with the adaptation to the limited needs and interests of the Philistine in the conditions of the bourgeois order. Only Lenin and the Leninists applied Marxism in a revolutionary manner and revealed its inexhaustible creative potential.<sup>62</sup>

The Kautskyites endeavored not to miss a single opportunity for interference in the internal affairs of the Soviet country and the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) and for slander of the fatherland of October. In particular, they went to considerable effort to misinterpret the essence and the goals of the new economic policy. Otto Bauer, for example, devoted a special pamphlet to this.<sup>63</sup> Lenin actively supported the appearance of the journal KOMMUNISTICHESKIY INTERNATSIONAL containing a critique of Bauer's views on the New Economic Policy,<sup>64</sup> condemned the assessment of the New Economic Policy as only an unadorned retreat to capitalism, and called for a resolute struggle with the Menshevik panic mood,<sup>65</sup> which were shared by Otto Bauer and his confederates.

The Kautskyites opposed the formation of a united proletarian front and repudiated the united front proposed by the Communist International, by which they complicated the struggle of the international working class movement against the increasingly active fascism. Life proved the correctness of Lenin, who categorically came out against the proposals of Radek and Zinov'yev to change the attitude to the Mensheviks and warned about the hostility and possible superbaseness of the leaders of the Second and the Two-and-a-Half Internationals.<sup>66</sup> Lenin regarded as a mistake the agreement of the delegation of the Executive Committee of the Communist International to some concessions to these Internationals. He devoted to this the article "We Paid Too Much" (April 1922), which was approved by the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks).<sup>67</sup>

It is well known that, along with legal activity, the SR's and the Mensheviks continued underground anti-Soviet work, receiving in this the active support of international social-democracy. When in February 1922 a decree was published about bringing to trial before the Supreme Revolutionary Tribunal active figures of the SR Party for counterrevolutionary and terrorist struggle against Soviet power,<sup>68</sup> the leaders of a number of social-democratic parties came out with a protest<sup>69</sup> and sent their defense counsels to the trial.<sup>70</sup> Having convinced themselves that the trial was being conducted with all the guarantees of an effective defense, the latter then searched only for a pretext to leave the trial, the presence at which became patently disadvantageous for them politically.<sup>71</sup> The bill of charges and the results of the trial once again confirmed the cooperation of the internal opposition with international reaction, opportunism and social-traitors, which was repeatedly pointed out by Lenin and the Communist International.<sup>72</sup>

The 12th Conference of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks), which took place at that time (August 1922), in a special resolution "On Anti-Soviet Parties and Currents" qualified the activity of the Mensheviks and SR's as counterrevolutionary and confirmed the necessity of applying strict measures to them.<sup>73</sup>

\* \* \*

The years 1917-1922 occupy a distinctive place in the history of the struggle of revolutionary Marxism-Leninism against opportunism and revisionism. The victory of the Great October Revolution, the socialist reforms in Russia, the rise of international proletarian solidarity and the aggravation of the class struggle in the capitalist countries--all of this indicated the all-conquering force of the ideology of the working class and the correctness of the theoretical conclusions, the policy, and the social practice of the Bolsheviks headed by V. I. Lenin. The struggle of the Leninist party for socialism and against the bourgeoisie and its social-democratic, Kautskyite yes-men was characterized by the unity of revolutionary theory and practice, and national and international interests. The hostile attitude to the Great October, the embittered struggle against the Bolshevik Party, Soviet power, and the Communist International, which the Kautskyites conducted during this time, natural in the development of opportunism and revisionism. They proved to be theoretical and political failures, not capable of rising to the level of the great events, which marked the new epoch that was opened up by the Great October. The revisionism of the Kautskyites in theory, apostasy in practice, and hostility to Leninism and the Soviet people proved to be natural. And this is once again indicated by the facts cited in the present article.

After the victory of the Great October, Kautskyism turned into one of the basic anti-Leninist tendencies of the ideological struggle at its fundamental questions of the theory and practice of the revolution, the transition of capitalism to socialism. Kautsky became the author of the conception of "democratic socialism" or "the third path" as the specific manifestation of contemporary revisionism. His statements against the dictatorship of the proletariat, the ignoring of the class and concrete-historical approach to questions of democracy and the conquest of power by the proletariat led the supporters of "democratic socialism" into the camp of anticomunism.<sup>74</sup>

The Kautskyite conceptions with their anti-Bolshevik tendency suffered the most complete failure in the face of the gigantic growth of the authority of the Leninist party and the successes of the USSR in the construction of socialism. However, even today the legacy of Kautsky continues to remain a pseudo-scientific cover for present-day falsifiers of the history of our party and country. Thus, A. Beber, in an article included in one of the collections of the French Association of Political Science, extolled the "contributions" of Kautsky in the creation of such concepts as "the new bureaucratic class", "Soviet bonapartism", etc.<sup>75</sup> Moreover, the activity of the Polish "Solidarity" the author retrospectively deduced precisely from Kautsky's conceptions of the "democratic revolution against socialism."<sup>76</sup> The present-day opponents of Marxism-Leninism derive their arguments from the arsenal of Kautskyism for purposes of slandering real socialism. They repeat the badly familiar Kautskyite dogmas and anti-Soviet inventions disproved by Lenin and by the theory and practice of the creation of socialist civilization.

Social practice itself has cast away the impractical, dramatic ideas and slogans of the Kautskyites. In the process of the ideological and political struggle, revolutionary criteria were developed for the assessment of the party and international organizations, and their place in the history of Marxism. The main one among them has been and remains the attitude to the class and

the international interests and goals of the working-class movement, the devotion to them not in word but in deed.

The ideological and political struggle against Kautskyism and Menshevism was conducted by the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks), with Lenin at the head, on the fundamental class and methodological basis of creative Marxism, in the interest of the Russian and international working-class and the entire communist movement. The upheavals and results of this struggle found a lively response in the countries of Europe, America and Asia. The international progressive community estimated at their true worth the contributions of Lenin and the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) in the exposure of the ideology of Kautskyism and the contribution of our party and its leader in the defense and development of revolutionary Marxism.

Historical experience indicates that, from the time of the victory of the Great October, the leading position of the Communist Party in socialist society has been and remains the main object of the attacks of our ideological opponents. "In the camp of the 'reformers' and 'improvers' of socialism, of whom there have been quite a few all the time among the ideologists of the bourgeoisie and the revisionists," K. U. Chernenko notes, the thesis of the 'necessity' to narrow the sphere of party leadership is diligently whipped up. Now it is proposed to exclude from this sphere the economy, now the problems of social or political development."<sup>77</sup> Rejecting these and similar recommendations, our party, on the contrary, has striven and strives to increase the effectiveness of its leadership of society and to improve the methods of political influence on all spheres of the life of society.

Historical experience and contemporary practice convincingly show that Marxism-Leninism has been and remains a fighting doctrine, which brings about the revolutionary transformation of society and mobilizes the forces of the working class and all workers in the struggle against the opportunists and falsifiers of our history. Now, as well as in the past, the deviation from the creative use of Marxism-Leninism leads to the betrayal of the working class and the ideals of communism, to opportunism. The most important results of the struggle of Lenin and the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) against Kautskyism were the defense of Marxism from revisionism, the development of a truly scientific program and methods of the construction of socialism in our country, and the propagation of the truth about the Great October, Soviet power, and the Bolsheviks. In this struggle, the principles, honor, and conscience of the revolutionary Marxists of the entire world were defended.

#### NOTES

1. The terms "Kautskyism" and "Kautskyites" were used by Lenin long before the Great October. Thus, in the article "The Collapse of Platonic Internationalism" (May 1915), he proposed to distinguish "Plekhanovite", "Kautskyite", and other varieties of "social-nationalism" (Cf. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 26, pp 195-196). Lenin called the English pacifists and chauvinists Kautskyites (Cf. *ibid.*, p 271). A special part in the pamphlet "Sotsializm i voyna" [Socialism and War] (July-August 1915) is called "Kautskyism" (cf. *ibid.*, pp 323-324). "Kautskyism," Lenin wrote here, "is not a fortuity, but a social product of the

contradictions of the Second International, of the combination of the truth of Marxism in word and the subordination of opportunism in deed. . . This is a manifestation of the evil which the Dutch Marxists (Gorter, Pannekoek) called "passive radicalism" and which reduces itself to the replacement of revolutionary Marxism by eclecticism in theory and to servility or impotence before opportunism in practice" (*ibid.*, p 324). Later, after the Great October Socialist Revolution, Lenin gave concrete expression to and extended the characterizations of Kautskyism, taking into account the hostile position of Kautsky and his confederates with respect to Bolshevism and Soviet power.

2. Cf. "Materialy XXV s"ezda KPSS" [Materials of the 25th CPSU Congress], Moscow, 1981, pp 18-19.
3. KOMMUNIST, 1984, No 14, p 8.
4. Cf., for example: G. K. Soseliya, "Revizionizm i marksistskoye ucheniye o diktature proletariata" [Revisionism and the Marxist Doctrine of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat], Moscow, 1960; B. A. Chagin, "Iz istorii bor'by protiv filosofskogo revizionizm v germanskoy sotsial-demokratii. 1895-1914" [From the History of the Struggle Against Philosophical Revisionism in German Social-Democracy], Moscow-Leningrad, 1961; S. I. Popov, "Ideynoye bankrotstvo sovremennoego reformizma" [The Ideological Bankruptcy of Contemporary Reformism], Moscow, 1963; Yu. M. Chernetsovskiy, "Lenin i bor'ba protiv mezhunarodnogo revizionizma" [Lenin and the Struggle Against International Revisionism], Leningrad, 1970; F. Ya. Polyanskiy, "Sotsializm i sovremennyy reformizm" [Socialism and Contemporary Reformism], Moscow, 1972; S. M. Brayovich, "Karl Kautskiy--evolyutsiya ego vozzreniy" [Karl Kautsky--Evolution of His Views], Moscow, 1982; "Razmezhevaniye i sdvigi v sotsial-reformizme. Kriticheskiy analiz levykh techeniy v zapadnoevropeyskoy sotsial-demokratii" [Delimitations and Improvements in Social-Reformism. Critical Analysis of the Left-Wing Trends in West European Social-Democracy], Moscow, 1983; I. M. Mrachkovskaya, I. M., "Kritika Leninyu revizionizma i sovremennoст'" [Lenin's Critique of Revisionism and the Present], Moscow, 1982; "Marksistskaya filosofiya v mezhunarodnom rabochem dvizhenii v kontse XIX--nachale XX veka" [Marxist Philosophy in the International Working-Class Movement at the End of the 19th--Beginning of the 20th Centuries], Moscow, 1984; "Kommunisticheskiy Internatsional. Kratkiy istoricheskiy ocherk" [The Communist International: A Short Historical Essay], Moscow, 1969, and others.
5. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.", Vol 44, p 148.
6. C. Zetkin's article was translated into Russian and published as a pamphlet (Cf. Klara Zetkin, "Bor'ba za svobodu i mir v Rossii" [The Struggle for Freedom and Peace in Russia], Moscow, 1918).
7. Cited according to: F. Fisher, "Kak zhil i borolsya Karl Libknekht" [How Karl Libknekht Lived and Fought], Moscow-Leningrad, 1931, p 56.
8. Cf. K. Kautsky, "Die Diktatur des Proletariats" [The Dictatorship of the Proletariat], Vienna, 1918.

9. K. Kautsky, "Kommunismus und Sozial-Demokratie" [Communism and Social-Democracy], Berlin, 1932, p 16.
10. Cf. K. Kautsky, "Terrorismus und Kommunismus. Ein Beitrag zur Naturgeschichte der Revolution" [Terrorism and Communism. A Contribution to the Natural History of the Revolution], Berlin, 1919; by the same author, "Von der Demokratie zur Staats-Sklaverei" [From Democracy to State Slavery], Berlin, 1921.
11. V. I. Lenin's book "Proletarskaya revolyutsiya i renegat Kautskiy" [The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky] was published in Moscow and Petrograd (1918), in Germany (1919); in 1920--in Bulgaria, England, Argentina, and the United States; in 1921--in Latvia, France, and Italy. (Cf. "Istoriya Kommunisticheskoy partii Sovetskogo Soyuza" [History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union], Vol 3, Book 2, p 209).
12. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.", Vol 37, p 278.
13. Cf. ibid., Vol 38, pp 384-385.
14. Cf. ibid., p 9.
15. Cf. ibid., p 136.
16. Cf. ibid., Vol 37, pp 308-316, 328.
17. Cf. ibid., pp 328-330.
18. Ibid., Vol 39, p 183.
19. "Vtoroy kongress Kominterna. Iyul'-avgust 1920" [The Second Congress of the Communist International. July-August 1920], Moscow, 1934, p 560.
20. Cf. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.", Vol 37, p 277.
21. Ibid., Vol 41, p 12.
22. Cf. ibid., p 97.
23. Cf. ibid., Vol 39, p 16.
24. Ibid., Vol 37, p 269. Lenin meant Kautsky's pamphlet "Diktatura proletariata" [The Dictatorship of the Proletariat].
25. In accordance with V. I. Lenin's proposal, the book "Gosudarstvo i revolyutsiya" [The State and Revolution], with a foreword of the publisher written in the spirit of his wishes, was published in German in 1918 in Bern; twice it was published in Berlin.
26. Cf., for example, the articles of F. Mehring "The Bolsheviks and We", "Open Letter to the Bolsheviks", "Marx and the Bolsheviks", collected in

the book: F. Mehring, "Gesammelte Schriften" [Collected Writings], 15 volumes, 1966, pp 760-780; cf. also F. Mering, "Nekotoryye zamechaniya o teorii i praktike marksizma" [Some Observations on the Theory and Practice of Marxism], Ivanovo-Voznesensk, 1924; by the same author, "Na strazhe marksizma" [On Guard for Marxism], Moscow-Leningrad, 1927; K. Tsetkin, "Karl Marks i delo ego zhizni" [Karl Marx and the Cause of His Life], Moscow, 1922; by the same author, "Chto uvideli germanskiye rabotnitsy v Sovetskem Soyuze" [What German Women Workers Saw in the Soviet Union], Moscow-Leningrad, 1927; R. Lyuksemburg, "Krizis sotsial-demokratii" [The Crisis of Social-Democracy], Moscow, 1923].

27. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.", Vol 39, p 139.
28. Cf. ibid., pp 141-144.
29. Cf. ibid., Vol 37, pp 284-287.
30. Ibid., Vol 38, p 308.
31. Cf. ibid., pp 333, 345.
32. K. Marks i F. Engel's, "Soch." [Works], Vol 36., pp 217-218.
33. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.", Vol 41, p 253.
34. "We know," said the Austrian delegate I. Gruber (Karl Steinhardt) at the 1st Congress of the Communist International, "that. . . in Bern an organization is being created which has as its goal the weakening of the revolutionary energy of the proletariat. In Bern they elected a commission, which will travel to Russia in order to investigate how things are going with Bolshevism. Let messieurs Bauer, Renner, Adler, and Kautsky find here, in Moscow, not only a new platform, but also a new organization of the international proletariat." ("Pervyy kongress Kominterna. Mart 1919" [The First Congress of the Comintern. March 1919], Moscow, 1933, p 129).
35. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.", Vol 37, pp 482, 622-623.
36. Cf. ibid., Vol 38, pp 42-43, 72, 453.
37. Ibid., pp 42-43.
38. Ibid., Vol 39, p 139.
39. Ibid., Vol 37, p 459.
40. N. N. Zhordaniya, "Za dva goda (s 1 marta 1917 goda po 1 marta 1919 goda). Doklady i rechi" [During Two Years (From 1 March 1917 to 1 March 1919). Reports and Speeches], Tiflis, 1919, p 101. Lenin knew the ideology, morals, and habits of the leaders of the Georgian Mensheviks very well and pointed out their kinship to Kautskyism. N. Zhordaniya (pseudonyms Kostrov, An, and others) was repeatedly subjected

sharp criticism by Lenin, Stalin, and other Bolsheviks. In one of his letters to M. Ol'minskiy, Lenin wrote: "You do not know Ana! But I studied his diplomacy for years and know how he is swindling the whole Caucasus with it!!" (V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.", Vol 48, p 193). In 1915 Lenin pointed out, on the one hand, the kinship of Trotsky and Rakovskiy with the most harmful "Kautskyites", and, on the other, the support of figures like Chkheidze and Chkhenkeli by Trotsky in the International. (Cf. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.", Vol 26, p 350; Vol 49, p 117).

N. Zhordaniya cooperated with Trotsky during the period of the flourishing of liquidationism; during the First World War, he occupied chauvinist positions; he took part in the Plekhanovite collection "Samozashchita" [Self-Defense]. After the February Revolution he was the chairman of the Tiflis Soviet, and during 1918-1921 the head of the Menshevik government of Georgia.

41. Cf. on this in detail: [F. I.] Makharadze, "Diktatura men'shevistskoy partii v Gruzii" [The Dictatorship of the Menshevik Party in Georgia], Moscow, 1921; by the same author, "Sovety i bor'ba za Sovetskuyu vlast' v Gruzii (1917-1921)" [The Soviets and the Struggle for Soviet Power in Georgia (1917-1921)], Tiflis, 1922; G. V. Khachapuridze, "Bor'ba gruzinskogo naroda za ustanovleniye Sovetskoy vlasti" [The Struggle of the Georgian People for the Establishment of Soviet Power], Moscow, 1956. "Istoriya grazhdanskoy voyny v SSSR" [History of the Civil War in the USSR], Vol 5, Moscow, 1960; A. B. Kadishev, "Interventsiya i grazhdanskaya voyna v Zakavkaz'ye" [The Intervention and the Civil War in the Transcaucasus], Moscow, 1960; N. B. Makharadze, "Pobeda sotsialisticheskoy revolyutsii v Gruzii" [The Victory of the Socialist Revolution in Georgia], Tiflis, 1965; G. Zhvaniya, "V. I. Lenin, TsK partii i bol'sheviki Zakavkaz'ya" [V. I. Lenin, the Central Committee of the Party, and the Bolsheviks of Transcaucasia], Tiflis, 1969; V. Esanashvili, "V. I. Lenin i Gruziya" [V. I. Lenin and Georgia], Tiflis, 1970; "Ocherki istorii Kommunisticheskoy partii Gruzii" [Studies in the History of the Communist Party of Georgia], Part I, Tiflis, 1982; "Pobeda Sovetskoy vlasti v Zakavkaz'ye" [The Victory of Soviet Power in the Transcaucasus], Tiflis, 1971, and others.
42. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.", Vol 36, pp 214-215.
43. Cf. PRAVDA, 26 and 27 March 1918.
44. Cited according to: N. B. Makharadze, "Pobeda sotsialisticheskoy revolyutsii v Gruzii", p 332.
45. Kautsky arrived in Tiflis on 30 September and stayed in Georgia until December 1920. As I. Stalin noted, Kautsky during this time was not comfortable in revolutionary Germany and he was "compelled to seek refuge in remote Tiflis, among the Georgian social-dukhanshchiki [innkeepers in the Caucasus]" (I. Stalin, "Soch." [Works], Vol 4, pp 392, 439).
46. Cited according to: KOMMUNISTICHESKIY INTERNATSIONAL, 1920, No 15, p 3107.

47. Cited according to the book: "Pobeda Sovetskoy vlasti v Zakavkaz'ye", p 559.
48. *Ibid.*
49. Cf. "Ocherki istorii Kommunisticheskoy partii Gruzii", Part I, 1883-1921, pp 323-324.
50. The article was published in the Menshevik paper ERTOBA, and then published as a separate pamphlet with a foreword by Kautsky. It contained malicious slander of the Bolsheviks and Soviet Russia.
51. Taking into account the failure of the first meeting of the group of "distinguished visitors", the Mensheviks guarded them against contacts with the masses. M. Tskhakaya wrote about one of the attempts to organize an appearance of Kautsky in Tiflis: ". . . On one of the October Sundays, the Mensheviks announced that the workers of Tiflis wanted to welcome Kautsky. And what of it? . . . In this city of White Guards of all countries and colors, which now has a population of almost half a million, where anyhow there were no less than 50,000-60,000 organized workers, a few hundred workers turned up at Eriavanskaya Square and together with the street idlers and speculators made up a meeting of 700-800 persons. Kautsky himself appeared on a balcony to pour out his gratitude to the real democracy. But he was not applauded even after the loud and articulate remarks to "the comrade workers" on the part of Noy Ramishvili himself. . . at the same time when the press, with the exception, of course, of the communist press, daily showered praise on and extolled the saviors of culture and civilization--the heroes of the Yellow International" (KOM-MUNISTICHESKIY INTERNATSIONAL, 1920, No 15, p 3,117).
52. Cited according to "Istoriya Kommunisticheskoy partii Sovetskogo Soyuza" [History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union], Vol 3, Book 2, Moscow, p 532.
53. The 1st Congress of the Peoples of the East, which took place upon the decision of the 2nd Congress of the Communist International in Baku at the beginning of September 1920, played a well-known role in the ideological-political unity of the peoples of the Caucasus and in their struggle against imperialism and reformism. In speeches at the Congress, Soviet power was defended as the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Leninist principles of nationality policy of the Bolsheviks and the Communist International were propagated, and the subservience of the Georgian Mensheviks and the Armenian Dashnaks to the imperialists and the ignoring of the interests of the oppressed masses of the East on the part of the Second International were exposed. (Cf. "I s"ezd narodov Vostoka. Baku, 1-8 sentyabrya 1920. Stenograficheskiy otchet" [The 1st Congress of the Peoples of the East. Baku, 1-8 September 1920. Stenographic Report], Petrograd, 1920, pp 139, 142).
54. Cf. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.", Vol 42, p 125; Vol 52, pp 284-285; "Vladimir Il'ich Lenin. Biograficheskaya khronika" [Vladimir Il'ich Lenin. Biographical Chronicle], Vol 9, Moscow, 1978, p 581.

55. Cf. M. Pavlovich, "Soviet Russia and Anglo-French Intrigues in the East," *KOMMUNISTICHESKIY INTERNATSIONAL*, 1920, No 14, pp 2,769-2,780; by the same author, "In the Country of the Yellow International. Menshevik Arcadia," *KOMMUNISTICHESKIY INTERNATSIONAL*, 1920, No 15, pp 3,103-3,112; M. Tskhakaya, "Georgia, Armenia, the Entente and Soviet Russia," *KOMMUNISTICHESKIY INTERNATSIONAL*, 1920, No 15, pp 3,113-3,126.

56. Cf. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.", Vol 52, p 153.

57. Cf. "Vladimir Il'ich Lenin. Biograficheskaya khronika", Vol 11, Moscow, 1980, pp 93, 96; V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.", Vol 53, p 63. In October 1921, Lenin again accepts N. L. Meshcheryakov. (Cf. "Leninskiy sbornik" [Lenin Miscellany], Vol 34, p 383).

58. Cf. V. G. Esanashvili, "V. I. Lenin i Gruziya", p 110.

59. N. L. Meshcheryakov, "Legkomyslenny puteshestvennik" [Thoughtless Traveler], Moscow, 1921, p 5; by the same author, "V men'shevistskom rayu. Iz vпечатleniy poezdki v Gruziyu" [In the Menshevik Paradise. From the Impressions from a Trip to Georgia], Moscow, 1921.

60. Cf. "Dni gospodstva men'shevikov v Gruzii (Dokumenty i materialy)" [The Days of the Supremacy of the Mensheviks in Georgia (Documents and Materials)], Tiflis, 1931, pp 535-570.

61. *KOMMUNIST*, 1984, No 13, p 54.

62. Cf. *ibid.*, pp 54-55.

63. Otto Bauer, "'Der Neue Kurs' in Sowjetrussland" ['The New Course' in Soviet Russia], Vienna, 1921.

64. Cf. *KOMMUNISTICHESKIY INTERNATSIONAL*, 1922, p 20.

65. Cf. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.", Vol 45, p 89.

66. Cf. *ibid.*, pp 41-42, 506.

67. Cf. *ibid.*, pp 140-144, 531.

68. Cf. *IZVESTIYA*, 28 February 1922.

69. Cf. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.", Vol 45, p 508.

70. Cf. D. L. Golinkov, "Krusheniye antisovetskogo podpol'ya v SSSR" [The Collapse of the Anti-Soviet Underground in the USSR], Book 2, 3rd rev. ed., Moscow, 1980, pp 211-213.

71. Cf. *ibid.*, p 213.  
The trial of the SR's took place in Moscow during 8 June-7 August 1922. Thirty-four individuals were accused of active counterrevolutionary and

terrorist activity: The members of the Central Committee and of the Moscow Buro of the Central Committee of the Party of Socialist-Revolutionaries and some rank-and-file SR's (Cf. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. soch. soch.", Vol 45, p 508).

72. Cf. Bela Kun, "Vragi Kommunisticheskogo Internatsionala" [The Enemies of the Communist International], Moscow, 1922; M. N. Pokrovskiy, "Chto ustavnil protsess tak nazyvayemykh 'sotsial-revolyutsionny?'?" [What Did the Trial of the So-Called 'Social-Revolutionaries' Establish?], Moscow, 1922; by the same author, "Kontrrevolyutsiya za 4 goda" [The Counterrevolution After 4 Years], Moscow, 1922; "Na ideologicheskem fronte bor'by s kontrrevolyutsiey. Sb. st." [On the Ideological Front of the Struggle Against Counterrevolution. Collection of Articles], Moscow, 1923; I. M. Mayakkiy, "Demokraticeskaya kontrrevolyutsiya" [Democratic Counterrevolution], Moscow-Petrograd, 1923; A. Martynov, "Provokatsiya Karla Kautskogo" [The Provocation of Karl Kautsky], Moscow, 1925, and others.
73. Cf. "KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh i resheniyakh. . ." [The CPSU in Resolutions and Decisions. . .], Vol 2, 9th ed., Moscow, 1983, pp 589-593.
74. Cf. on this: "Chto takoye 'demokraticheskiy sotsializm'?" [What Is 'Democratic Socialism'?], 2nd enl. ed., Moscow, 1979, p 34; "Marksistskaya filosofiya v mezhdunarodnom rabochem dvizhenii v kontse XIX-nachale XX veka", p 74.
75. Cf. "Les interpretations du stalinisme" [Interpretations of Stalinism], Ed. Pisier-Kouchner, Paris, 1983, pp 60-74.
76. Ibid., p 78.
77. K. U. Chernenko. "Na uroven' trebovaniy razvitiya sotsializma. Nekotoryye aktual'nyye problemy teorii, strategii i taktiki KPSS" [To the Level of the Requirements of Developed Socialism. Some Urgent Problems of the Theory, Strategy and Tactics of the CPSU], Moscow, 1985, p 22.

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ECONOMY OF METAL, NEW TECHNOLOGY IN MACHINEBUILDING URGED

Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 17 Mar 85 p 2

[Article by M. Munatayev, senior scientific worker of the Institute of Economics AN Kazakh SSR and candidate of economic sciences: "Instilling Progressive Methods"]

[Excerpts] For the past few years in the industry of the republic, despite definite growth in the quantity of measures concerning the installation of new equipment and technology, a tendency can be observed of a decreased return on invested resources. If in 1970 each ruble of the capital expenditure for new equipment yielded 51 kopecks, it turned out that 10 years later it was only 29 kopecks. What is the reason for this?

It is partly linked to the increased complexity and size of expenditures for the development and preparation of new equipment and the installation of modern technology. But this isn't the only factor. The economic effect of innovation turns out to be insignificant, and sometimes even is altogether absent, if the necessary scales for its installation are not met.

It must be said that in the industry of the republic the volume of capital investment for the installation of new equipment and technology still remains insignificant. Thus, in 1980, the portion of expenditures on new equipment from the general sum of production-related capital investments in industry amounted to 9.7 percent, and over the course of the decade--14.6 percent, which is 5/8 that of the average in the country.

As a whole for the republic the coefficient for the utilization of metal is 0.79. Yearly, in chips and waste products, 400,000 tons of metal products are wasted. Analysis shows that the formation in machine building of such a large quantity of chips is linked to the irrational structure of equipment purchasing and to the prevalence of processing by cutting and free forging. Therefore, it is very important for machine building to develop, at more advanced rates, the production of forging and pressing equipment and to change its structure in the direction of increasing the portion of production devoted to more progressive hot-crank presses.

The economy of metals, in the main, is determined by the technologies of production and the quality of casted procurements. The portion of casted

parts in the general mass of machines and assemblies is usually a significant quantity: in metal-cutting lathes--up to 80 percent, in textile machines--72 percent, in metal-rolling mills--68 percent, in tractors--58 percent.

Thus, in comparison with casting into single sand molds, the specific influence of labor-intensive machining decreases: through casting in metal molds roughly by 25 percent, in membrane molds by 50 percent, and under pressure by 70-100 percent.

An economy of metal in casting could also be attained through lessening allowances in machining and the reduction of waste products in casting shops and the irretrievable losses. It is calculated, for example, that new methods of casting increase the coefficient for weight-precise castings up to 0.92. The allowance attached to this is lessened by 1/2 of that previous.

An important direction for the economy and the perfection of the structure of construction materials in machine building is the use of substitutes for traditional materials. Metallic ceramics are one of the most effective of these. In the manufacture of machine components out of metallic ceramics, such processes as the melting and casting of ingots and metal rolling are completely excluded and the portion of machining is lessened significantly. Manufactures from powders, as a rule, have the necessary sizes and do not require supplemental machining. As a result of residual porousness, "baked" manufactures made from powders are 15-20 percent lighter than metal ones. In a number of cases they are 2-2.5 times more durable than components from rolling or casting. The application of each ton of powder frees an average of 2.5 tons of rolled metal. The economic effect of the replacement of metal with manufactures made out of iron powder is 1.75 million rubles for 1,000 tons of powder, and from the powder of non-ferrous metals--2.2 million rubles.

Academician I. Khlebov estimates, for example, that the central problem of the broad introduction into machine building technology of powder metallurgy is above all the organization of highly economical production of quality powders and alloys based on iron, and the provision of modern instruments to enterprises. This is clearly inadequate today.

The basic reason for the insufficient scale of the application of powder metallurgy is the lack of centralization in the elaboration and application of this method. Today, the work in this field is uncoordinated.

It should be noted that the structure of the consumption for the basic forms of construction materials in domestic machine building is still insufficiently worked out. The portion of steel and iron casting, the use of which is usually tied to increased waste and a higher level of metal expenditure, in overall volume, and the consumption of ferrous metals in the machine building of the country, is still very high. For example, the demand in machine building for heat-strengthened metal is satisfied only 15-20 percent of the time. And, after all, the use of heat-strengthened rolled metal is able to save, on average, 25 percent of the metal.

Machine building needs an increase in the specific share of sheet-rolled metal, particularly of the thin sheet, of calibrated rolled metal, and of lightweight, thin-walled, hollow, periodic, and curved profiles... It is calculated that each one million tons of sheet-rolled metal entering the national economy creates an economy on the order of 400 million rubles, Regarding the use in machine building of the sheet, progressive methods of processing metal are receiving broad development: pressing, stamping, rolling, extruding, and welding, through which waste products are being reduced by 30-40 percent.

In the overall volume of rolled metal from ferrous metals used in the country's machine building, only three percent is comprised of curved profiles.

With the use by machine builders of curved profiles 92 percent of the metal goes into the work, whereas in the event of the use of a steel-iron casting this indicator is only 80, and with forgings from ingots does not reach even 60 percent.

All of this demands, naturally, decisive measures for acceleration of the production of high quality types of metal products, acceleration of the development of the corresponding capacities and their simultaneous assimilation, and the active installation of progressive methods of production and intensive technological processes.

It so happens that the imperfection of the structure of construction materials in machine building is in a certain degree linked to the standing practice of establishing targets in the economy of material resources, which planning organs settle centrally, for example, for the machine building ministries the targets for lowering norms for expenditure only on the rolling of ferrous and non-ferrous metals and of several types of steel pipe. This is an insufficiently comprehensive approach for the planning and use of all types of ferrous metals, and in many cases forces the designers and technologists to plan and manufacture components and assemblies from casts or forgings instead of rolled metal.

The establishment of centralized targets for lowering the norms of expenditure for casting creates the prerequisite for the formation of a progressive structure for construction materials in machine building and the lowering of the metal-intensiveness in the finished product. To expand expediently the product list of material resources, targets are being established centrally for the mean lowering of expenditure norms. In the future it will be necessary to move towards planning indicators of the metal intensiveness in industrial production, with an account of the influence caused on it by basic factors of scientific-technical progress.

12768  
CSO: 1830/444

NATIONAL

JPRS-UPS-85-044  
22 May 1985

## SEASONAL BRIGADE WORK PROVIDES OPPORTUNITIES FOR SWINDLERS

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 30 Mar 85 p 2

[Article by A. Chernenko: "Bitter Onion"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in source]

[Text] The year before last in early autumn, 10 inconspicuous men settled in Mozdok. Having given them rooms, the landlords could not praise their neat and courteous tenants enough.

But one day, after about 4 months, they disappeared. By turn, quietly and imperceptibly as they arrived...And almost half a year later (in January 1985), an information brief from the USSR MVD about the exposure of a large group of plunderers in the Northern Caucasus appeared in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA. More than 300,000 rubles was confiscated while searching one of them.

But first about the organization of seasonal brigades. At first glance, there is nothing unusual in the creation of such brigades--seasonal workers have a reputation for being able to grow top quality onions. The brigade leases, for example, 10 hectares from a sovkhoz and contracts to deliver 12-15 quintals of onions apiece from each hectare. The sovkhoz provides the brigade with seeds and implements and pays wages and bonuses--in short, for whatever period the seasonal brigade is a member of the sovkhoz as a production link.

It is important here to define the status of a seasonal brigade, its specific affiliation with the sovkhoz during some period and the corresponding responsibility of the farm supervisor for those extraordinary incidents which occur through the brigade's fault. Otherwise, there is no way to answer the main question: How could what happened at the Komsolol'skiy Sovkhoz have taken place?

...However, let's get acquainted with citizen V.M. Yun. He is the one who organizes a seasonal brigade at the Komsomol'skiy Sovkhoz, concludes contracts on its behalf and does the "paper" work. Again, there is nothing unusual in this. But...

/A contract for leasing 10 hectares of land is concluded at a certain farm. But 50 hectares have actually been sown with onions. According to the

contract, each hectare will yield 12 quintals, but the actual productivity is 20 quintals...It is clear that the lion's share of the harvest remains beyond the limits of the contract. What is its fate?/

/It would seem the question is absurd. The land is state land and, consequently, the onions must be turned over to the sovkhoz and the seasonal workers should receive additional monetary remuneration for their work. Payment here is piece-plus-bonus and the law sometimes allows earnings up to 1000 rubles a month! But--again "but." You see, the contract was concluded for the servicing of 10 hectares in all and not 50 or--and it even happens--100 hectares...No one would allow the sovkhoz to conclude such a contract; the wedge of land area which is cut off from grain, fodder and other planned areas is too large...Does this mean the seasonal workers sow onions at their own responsibility and risk? And does anyone control the harvest from these unaccounted-for hectares?/

Not by chance did all these questions arise several years ago before militia colonel and very experienced worker of the Main Administration of the BKhSS [Combating the Embarrassment of Socialist Property and Speculation] of the USSR MVD, M. Kozlov. Signals about the criminal activity had been coming into the capital for better than 2 years, however, attempts to trace even one of the "deals" were unsuccessful. We especially emphasize the local detectives were unsuccessful. It is true that they ascertained that Victor Moiseyevich Yun, for example, lives beyond his means: drinking bouts, very expensive purchases and questionable surroundings.

But there was no further ascertainment of the matter.

Colonel Kozlov and the comrades who entered his brigade understood that if V.M. Yun actually organized an illegal "deal" for growing and selling huge quantities of unaccounted-for onions, then undoubtedly, there must be a channel for the sale. Where? To whom? You won't sell that much in retail trade...It must be a reliable wholesale channel. But where do you look for it?

That's exactly when 10 inconspicuous men, a brigade from the USSR MVD, left for Mozdok.

Later the investigation attempted to determine the "leader" of the crime. To tell the truth, this seemed not based on principle to me since the plunderers worked in one bunch and knew what each of them was doing. And the main thing is that the activity of one of them was impossible without the machinations of another. What kind of significance does "leadership" have here?

"In the moral plane--none. They're all one of a kind. But there is the economic aspect," rejoined Kozlov. "Revealing the primary link of a crime means preventing a new one..."

The colonel said this with some kind of inner suffering. The fact is that this is not the first time Kozlov and his colleagues have tried to point

the economic managers to the typical "links" of such crimes. However, they quite often come to light again in another economic intrigue.

...That's how it was this time. In a neighboring autonomous republic the brigade headed by Kozlov succeeded in discovering a channel for the sale of unaccounted-for onions: the Groznyy procurement office of the Republic Union of Consumer Cooperatives of the Chechen-Ingush ASSR, headed by comrade Gurzhikhanov.

A new character in the play: a certain Oleg Vasil'evich Em, state procurements and purchases officer. He had the right to purchase surplus amounts of agricultural products in considerable volumes from the populace.

Thus, the situation: seasonal worker V.M. Yun entered into criminal collusion with the state procurements officer from the Union of Consumer Cooperatives of the Chechen-Ingush ASSR, O.V. Em. The first swindler supplied the onions which were grown in secret and accounted for nowhere--nor by anyone. And then the Groznyy "cooperator" bought them; the money was divided according to arrangement. And paying off the seasonal workers--also according to arrangement.

But in what way did the procurements officer function? You see, in order to pay off, he would have needed vast funds on hand and, at a minimum, 15-20 trucks for transporting the goods...

The financial practice of consumer cooperatives is generally quite mixed. For example, in Stavropol it is forbidden to give large sums to a procurement officer, but in the Chechen-Ingush ASSR, the situation is different. There it's been possible to hand out money not through a savings bank, but by a direct route through the state procurement officer. In the literal sense of the word, he can drive up to the procurement office with a big sack and receive from the cashier an advance on the strength of future purchases! In what volume?

...On this occasion, cashier Khasan Aslakhanov handed no less than half a million rubles to state procurements officer Em. As an advance! Only on word of honor alone...

/Shortly after, T. Shigay and A. Pak were exposed by the USSR MVD brigade. They had stolen more than 200,000 rubles from the state in the exact same way.../

/A certain Magay was arrested at one of the savings banks--at the moment he was receiving more than 100,000 rubles through straw men...In short, the MVD brigade brilliantly managed more than one matter: during 4 months of work, besides the stolen money, the militia staff members returned unaccounted-for onions to the state worth several millions rubles!/

...Having discovered the threads which connected Yun with Em, Kozlov's brigade proceeded to arrest them. It was necessary to catch the accomplices red-handed. Em was arrested at the very moment of drawing up fictitious

documents. He had neatly filled out 144 fake receipts (documents of strict bookkeeping) which authorized his receiving no less than half a million rubles from cashier Aslakhanov. During the search, 300,000 was found in an ordinary jute bag.

In short, the court had sufficient grounds to sentence the "businessmen" to the maximum terms of imprisonment. All those who fell within the brigade's field of vision in other rayons and farms, shared their fate.

But...strange thing: the director of the Komsomol'skiy Sovkhoz, N. Vasil'yevich, for example, remained outside the limits of the sentence. Actually, he was not involved in the direct machinations. However, huge volumes of unaccounted-for onions were grown in subdivisions of the farm he headed. His professional glance at the fields would have been enough to understand that Yun's activity went beyond the boundaries of the contract concluded. During harvest time on the sovkhoz fields, nearly 50 "left-handed" vehicles of unknown ownership arrived to transport onions, but the farm management did not even deign to check how many, where to, where from and who. The director's confused testimony in court did not become cause for serious discussion about his "near-sightedness" at any level. Why?

Also found to be outside the court's decisions was the Groznyy procurement office cashier, Kh. Aslakhanov who, in handing out huge sums to the government procurements officer, provided the initial capital without which the swindlers would not have been able to recruit the seasonal workers, the drivers and other necessary people. Why?

Kozlov's brigade exposed all the drivers of the "left-handed" vehicles who were taking 300 rubles each for a run and transferring the goods. The ownership of the several dozen vehicles is most varied--from North Ossetia, Chechen-Ingushetia...Family names exist and the managers of the transportation enterprises are known. And not one individual judgement against them. Why?

One would think that one more "why" would give an answer to the numerous "whys."

It is impossible not to notice this oddity: not one local assistant was a part of the USSR MVD brigade. The various services of the local militia were used only in the operation's finale. In other words, a brigade from the Main Administration, hardly familiar with local conditions, did over 4 months what the local detectives were unsuccessful in doing for quite a long time, even though they are perfectly well acquainted with the local specifics.

I am not sure that a BKhSS worker from the provinces (glubinka) concedes anything to his colleague at the center. But, alas, an unusual disparity in the results of their work in this specific matter is present. Why?

/"There is still one quite specific problem," Kozlov closed the bulky volume of "File No...." "If you look closely at the structure of the

purchases of the consumer cooperatives, it is impossible not to notice such a paradoxical correlation: in the Chechen-Ingush ASSR, the plan for purchasing onions is quite high, but their plantings in the republic are meager. Our neighbors have a different situation: the onion field area is considerable. However...cash payment to state procurement officers is forbidden. But this is possible in the Chechen-Ingush Union of Consumer Cooperatives. Thus, intriguers from neighboring regions have unaccounted-for onions which they cannot sell off through illegal means. But their neighbor has easy money at the expense of the state and an order from the authorities to fulfill the plan for purchases at any price...Here is where the crime's starting point is."/

Yes, the "whys" are many. And there is someone to answer them. The onion affair could have, of course, simply lain in the legal archives. But the whole point is to turn it in early. On the desks of the MVD workers there are "watermelon," "tulip," and "musk-melon" stories which are similar to this one with striking accuracy. It follows that the practice of seasonal work and the procurement activity of the Central Union of Consumer Cooperatives is, for the present, allowing swindlers to fill their pockets... There is cause for serious thoughts and decisions.

12614  
CSO: 1830/453

NATIONAL

JPRS-UPS-85-044  
22 May 1985

## FREEDOM OF WORSHIP IN USSR AVERRED

Kiev RABOCHAYA GAZETA in Russian 2 Mar 85 p 3

[Article by S. Kuzin: "Freedom of Conscience: Truth and Fabrications"]

### [Excerpts] Life Itself Refutes the Slander of Religious Extremists

Freedom of conscience... In vain attempts to discredit the state and social system of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, our class adversaries have heaped up a great many fabrications around this concept.

Freedom of conscience is one of the historic achievements of the Soviet people. Article 52 of our Constitution guarantees citizens of the USSR freedom of conscience, that is the right to profess any religion or to conduct atheist propaganda.

The bourgeois democracies also raise the question of freedom of conscience, but they, in fact, reduce it to freedom of religious choice. It is evident that the sections of the bourgeois constitutions which concern religion and the church represent a form of expression of the ruling classes' policy.

What sort of freedom of conscience can be spoken of, then, in the "free world"? At the same time, reality completely refutes the demagogic assertions of religious extremists and clerical anticomunists regarding the lack of freedom of conscience and violation of the rights of believers in the USSR.

In the USSR, with regard to religion and the church, the following principles are strictly observed in practice: separation of church and state and school and church; equality of all churches and religious organizations registered on the territory of the USSR, regardless of the number of their adherents; equality of rights of citizens regardless of their relation to religion; ensuring of freedom of conscience to all citizens regardless of religious affiliation or atheist persuasion. Our Constitution forbids the incitement of enmity and hatred in connection with religious beliefs.

I will take Donetsk as an example. A number of registered believers' organizations operate here - Baptists, Pentecostals and Seventh Day Adventists; they satisfy their religious requirements on the basis of functioning legislation regarding religious cults.

There are also, however, several small unofficial groups of believers which operate in the city. The groups of Pentecostals try to persuade believers to refuse participation in public life and to violate legislation on religious cults, as well as other Soviet laws. Until recently, one such group instigated its adherents to emigrate from the USSR for religious reasons.

The extremist leaders of the Pentecostal sect deliberately lead believers into error by asserting that Pentecostals are forbidden in our country because they "stand outside the law as a fanatical sect." It is true that in this sect, cases of manifestations of extreme religious fanaticism really do occur: due to protracted and exhausting prayer sessions, some believers reach the point of nervous and psychic disorders.

Not long ago, a group of Pentecostals from the USA were in Donetsk: A.E. Davidyuk, a member of the editorial board of the journal, EVANGEL'SKIY GOLOS, and a preacher well known in the religious world, together with his assistants, P. Khodnevich and K. Lutsik. The American Pentecostals came to the Soviet Union at the invitation of the All-Union Council of Evangelical Christian Baptists and, aside from Donetsk, they visited Moscow, Kiev and Rovno. During this trip, they were given every opportunity to visit whatever religious organizations they wished, to preach and to meet with believers.

A group of Donetsk journalists met with A.E. Davidyuk and the assistants who accompanied him, and asked them to respond to some questions.

[Question] What are your impressions of meetings in our country and of religious life?

[Answer] A. Davidyuk. I like the cordiality of the Soviet people. The constitutional principle of freedom of conscience is unquestionably observed. For example, I visited a house of prayer in the Proletarskiy rayon of Donetsk, participated in the service and spoke with our brothers and sisters in faith. I had the pleasantest impressions of this: the house of prayer is spacious and comfortable and there is everything necessary to conduct religious rites. The same situation exists in the other cities of the USSR which I had occasion to visit.

K. Lutsik. Before leaving for the Soviet Union, one of our acquaintances warned us and said that it is dangerous for believers to travel to the land of the Soviets and, in general, to stay there. We have seen for ourselves and have been convinced that this is not so, and all those apprehensions are probably explained by a lack of knowledge of the true state of affairs.

[Question] In your view, how should believers relate to the order established in the country where they live?

[Answer] A. Davidyuk. Believers, like all other citizens of a state, must submit not only to divine laws, but to those of the world as well. Every church and religious community in the USA must be registered; otherwise, they are not permitted to hold services. Every member of the community has a special registration card, like an identity card. If services are held unlawfully, they will be interrupted by the police and those who are conducting them will be detained.

[Question] Is emigration from one's native country for religious reasons justified? What do you think about this?

[Answer] A. Davidyuk. A person must serve God in the place where he lives. Expectations of paradise in a foreign country are not justified in most cases. Many emigrants from the Soviet Union weep bitter tears in America and curse their own mistakes, which led them to emigrate to a strange land. I repeat that there are good possibilities in the Soviet Union for the exercise of religious requirements.

Yes, it is very rare that a person becomes accustomed to a foreign land in a painless manner. Those believers who emigrated from the USSR to capitalist countries for one reason or another have been convinced of this by their own bitter experience. We know of their ordeals from the letters that they send to their relatives.

It is everyone's constitutional right to be a believer or an atheist. To be a patriot of his native country is the lofty moral duty of everyone. Progressive people of the world know full well that our rights and freedoms did not arise spontaneously. They were won by the blood of our fathers and grandfathers on the fronts of the civil war and the Second World War; they were gained in the strained everyday life of the five-year plans. A person's value and the respect he is given are determined in our country not by his religion or his rejection of religion, but by his attitude to the fulfillment of his civil and social responsibilities, regardless of how much those who wish us ill and slander us would like the reverse to be true.

12249  
CSO: 1830/458

NATIONAL

#### RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS TO PAY FOR ELECTRICITY USE

[Editorial Report] Moscow ZHURNAL MOSKOVSKOY PARTIARKHII in Russian No 3 (March 1985) carries on page 78 a 400-word article under the rubric "Our Legal Consultations." In response to questions raised in readers' letters, the article explains several things. Namely:

1. Individuals who are members of holy orders, as well as those who work in religious organizations, and are participants or invalids of World War II enjoy all the rights and privileges granted by existing legislation. World War II participants receive a 50 percent reduction in their income tax. World War II invalids do not have to pay any income tax.
2. As of 1 January 1985 a tariff has been imposed on electrical energy used by religious organizations. All religious institutions must pay 4 kopecks per kilowatt-hour.

#### WESTERN SCHOLARS CRITICIZED FOR DISTORTING RUSSIAN HISTORY

[Editorial report] Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 10 March 1985 carries on page 4 a 1,200-word article entitled "Did Ivan Groznyi Know How To Read." A. S. Seregin interviews Professor R. G. Skrynnikov, author of a book attacking the Russian Research Center at Harvard for "finding the roots of supposedly age-long 'Russian totalitarianism' in the history of Old Russia." In particular, he criticizes western scholarship on the reign of Ivan Groznyi. Skrynnikov describes the era as a time of cultural and political renaissance, and military and economic strength. He writes, "Russian national consciousness experienced an awakening." Skrynnikov accuses the Russian Research Center of making invalid psychological analyses of Ivan Groznyi, exaggerating the atrocities committed by the oprichina, and characterizing 16th century Russia as "a backward country with a low level of culture and education."

CSO: 1800/199

REGIONAL

JPRS-UPS-85-044

22 May 1985

GROSSU ADDRESSES MSSR PARTY AKTIV ON CADRES, ECONOMY

Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 26 Mar 85 pp 1-3

[Unattributed report: "Results of the CPSU Central Committee Extraordinary March (1985) Plenum and the Tasks of the Republic Party Organization. Report by Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary comrade S.K. Grossu at a 23 March 1985 Meeting of the Republic Party Aktiv"]

[Excerpts] Comrades. As is known, on 11 March this year an extraordinary plenum of the CPSU Central Committee took place. The plenum noted that the CPSU and all the Soviet people have suffered a great loss. Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko has passed away--that outstanding figure of the CPSU and Soviet state, patriot and internationalist, consistent fighter for the triumph of the ideals of communism and of peace on earth.

The CPSU Central Committee plenum unanimously elected comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev--eminent party and state figure and experienced leader of the Leninist type--to the post of CPSU Central Committee general secretary.

It was noted at the plenum that comrade M.S. Gorbachev possesses rich experience in party, state and economic work, all-around theoretical and professional training, and exceptionally great personal qualities. He is imbued with Leninist straightforwardness and principledness, a high organizational and analytical approach to problems, and the ability to rally people and direct efforts toward the resolution of large-scale tasks. In all the posts that the party has entrusted to him, comrade M.S. Gorbachev has worked with his typical initiative, energy and selflessness, giving his rich experience and organizational talent in the selfless service of Lenin's great cause and in the interests of working people.

Communists and all Soviet people have greeted with satisfaction and warm approval the election of comrade M.S. Gorbachev as general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. The exceptional importance of the plenum decision has been perceived everywhere, both in our country and abroad, as yet another proof of the CPSU's unshakable faith in the Leninist course of creativity and peace, as proof of total continuity in party policy.

Along with all Soviet people the workers of Soviet Moldavia have also greeted with warm approval the report that comrade M.S. Gorbachev has been elected to the post of CPSU Central Committee first secretary. In their numerous

letters and telegrams and in statements made at meetings and gatherings they have reaffirmed their full support for the the party's domestic and foreign policies and their resolve to participate actively in the implementation of these policies and to strengthen discipline and order and achieve high results in labor for the good of our motherland.

The high pledges adopted by the republic's workers, peasants and intelligentsia to successfully complete the plan for this year serve as yet another manifestation of their readiness to respond with concrete deeds to the party call. More than 28,000 people have resolved to complete their personal five-year plan by the 40th anniversary of the Soviet people's victory in the Great Patriotic War; and 3,219 shops and brigades are struggling to fulfill their annual plans by the 68th anniversary of the Great October, while more than 6,000 labor collectives have adopted pledges to work for 2 days using raw materials and materials that have been saved.

The significance of the CPSU Central Committee March (1985) Plenum and of the speech delivered at that plenum by CPSU Central Committee general secretary M.S. Gorbachev is exceptionally great. Our party and all the Soviet people have been armed with a document of enormous import. It sets forth the principal propositions on matters of party and state domestic and foreign policy and it stresses that the party's strategic line has been and remains acceleration of the country's socioeconomic progress and improvements in all aspects of life in Soviet society. In the field of economics the party sees its primary task in achieving a decisive turnaround in switching our economy onto the rails of intensive development and in a short period reaching the most advanced scientific and technical positions and the highest world level of productivity in social labor.

In the social sphere party and state efforts will be aimed at raising the material and cultural level and quality of life for the people, and at insuring the all-around and harmonious development of the individual. The steps taken by the party to increase the production of foodstuffs and consumer goods and expand the services sphere, provide the population with good housing and develop public health, education and culture, are all subordinate to these aims.

In a number of main problems in present CPSU strategy and tactics, as formulated in comrade M.S. Gorbachev's speech at the CPSU Central Committee plenum, a key place is occupied by problems involving the further improvement and development of democracy and the entire system of popular socialist self-government [samoupravleniye]. Enormous reserves of worker initiative lie in further improving the work of the soviets of working people's deputies, which represent truly popular power--a power, in the words of Vladimir Ilich Lenin, that is open to all.

Under the leadership of the party organizations the soviets of working people's deputies in the republic are doing great and varied work aimed at improving efficiency in social production, implementing a broad program of social measures, indoctrinating the workers and strengthening discipline and law and order. The elections to the MSSR Supreme Soviet and local soviets of working people's deputies which took place on 24 February were a searching check on their

activities. The main political result of the elections to the soviets that took place was that they demonstrated the unanimous support and warm approval of the republic's workers of party domestic and foreign policy, and that they offered new proof of the high socialist consciousness of people and their interest in developing socialist popular democracy.

Defining the tasks that now face the party and the country, comrade M.S. Gorbachev noted that their resolution presupposes further strengthening of the party and enhancement of its organizing and guiding role. He stressed that it is precisely the party that is the force capable of taking into account the interests of all classes and social groups and all nations and nationalities within the country, and of rallying them together and mobilizing the people's energy in the common cause of communist creativity. "The time," Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev said, "demands stepped-up, creative work by all party organizations, from top to bottom. On all sectors, everywhere on high and low, communists should be an example of the fulfillment of civic duty and honest labor for the good of society, everywhere asserting the Leninist style in work. And this applies first and foremost to party cadres and to party and state leaders."

The question of work with cadres and raising exactingness toward them was the subject of discussion at a recent Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee plenum and at party gorkom and raykom plenums and meetings in the grassroot organizations. The discussion showed that a significant cadre potential has been created within the republic, that the system for their selection, placement and indoctrination is being improved, and that steps are being taken to strengthen their responsibility for assignments. At the same time, serious shortcomings were found in work with cadres and with the style and methods of their activity. Many leaders have been given party warnings about the need to change in a radical way the methods of their work and without delay to put things to right on the sectors assigned to them; and about the impermissibility of the slightest deviations from the requirements of party ethics.

Today, this is the question: to support, encourage and raise in every possible way those who show their honest and conscientious attitude toward the fulfillment of their social duty not in words but in deeds and practical results. And contrariwise, to wage the most decisive struggle against any manifestations of showiness and idle talk, against conceit and irresponsibility, against everything that is at variance with the socialist norms of life. Such is the party line in cadre work.

This kind of approach obliges party organs to make considerable improvements in their work to monitor the activity of cadres and their fulfillment of party and government decisions, and to be more demanding toward cadres with regard to their assignments and insuring real and worthwhile results.

We must continue and strengthen work to implement CPSU Central Committee decrees and accounting to the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee. In the spirit of the demands of the CPSU Central Committee March Plenum, the significance of this fundamental document has grown even more. While we talk about a certain improvement in the style of activity in party, soviet,

and economic organs, the trade unions and the Komsomol, we must note with all frankness that in some places the attraction of ingrained but unjustified methods is great--the substitution of economic organs, the adoption of voluminous resolutions, work on a whole multitude of measures to the detriment of the organization of matters and monitoring of execution. It is essential to eliminate these shortcomings more rapidly and decisively.

One important lever in improving the work of party, soviet, state and public organizations should be publicity. The CPSU Central Committee again reminded us that the better people are informed the more conscientiously they act and the more actively they support the party and its plans and program aims. As you know, the practice of publicizing via the press, radio and television the decisions adopted on the most important questions of the activity of the republic party organization has been established in the activity of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee and its Buro. Information on the course of fulfillment of earlier decisions is presented at the central committee plenums. This practice has been spread to many party gorkoms and raykoms and grassroots organizations.

When they speak at meetings, communists offer much advice and many remarks. At the last accounting and election meetings in the republic party organizations more than 120,000 such remarks were made. Accordingly, those who have organized systematic information on the implementation of advice and remarks offered by communists are acting correctly. This matter, however, has not been dealt with everywhere. For example, during the period since the last accounting and election conferences, the Kaushenskiy, Grigoriopol'skiy, Strashenskiy and certain other party raykoms have not once at their plenums heard information on the course of fulfillment of critical remarks and proposals made by communists at these conferences and at subsequent plenums.

Now, as we move toward active preparation for the upcoming 27th CPSU Congress and the 16th Moldavian Communist Party Congress, the party committees and primary party organizations must make their work even more public, and at their plenums and meetings carefully analyze the course of fulfillment of decisions of previous accounting and election conferences and the critical remarks and proposals, and provide extensive information on what has been done by communists. Publicity in work and the provision of extensive information for the workers should also be shown in the activity of soviet, state and public organizations in the republic.

The party's strategic line toward accelerating the country's socioeconomic development and improving all aspects of life in Soviet society envisages also the simultaneous development of the individual himself and the further growth of his public awareness. "Raising the labor and social activeness of Soviet people, strengthening discipline, and indoctrinating patriotism and internationalism," comrade M.S. Gorbachev underscored at the plenum, "is an important task in all ideological activity."

On this sector of party work in the republic, since the CPSU Central Committee June (1983) Plenum certain positive shifts have been noted. For example, the ideological-indoctrination work of many of the party organizations in

Bendery city and Sovetskiy, Slobodzeyskiy and Yedinetskiy rayons has become more specific. Changes for the better are taking place cadre training and indoctrination and in the forms and methods and style of work. However, much remains to be done in order to make ideological and political indoctrination work meet the high requirements of the CPSU Central Committee March Plenum and before it is distinguished by its profound ideological-theoretical content and is always understood by and is close to the people; and this means more effective. This is often hindered by the force of inertia and the inability or reluctance to climb out of the old but convenient and customary rut and switch to new methods and forms that actively influence the consciousness, opening up for the masses a broad vista of initiative and creativity.

The central committee departments, the party gorkoms and raykoms and the primary party organizations must eliminate the present shortcomings more persistently and energetically, strengthen the scientific bases of agitation and propaganda work, and improve the system of studying and shaping public opinion. It is necessary to enhance the role of the scientific establishments and of the social scientists in effecting the switch from the mere statement of socioeconomic problems (and at present it is precisely this approach that dominates) to prediction of social processes and the development of scientifically substantiated recommendations for the practical activities of party committees.

It is essential decisively to eliminate the formal attitude still found toward the organization of political and economic training and try to make this training actively influence the profound processes involved in the development of the national economy, improve the economic mechanism and the forms and methods of economic management, and successfully carry out a large-scale experiment in the national economy and introduce the collective contract.

It is essential to intensify the struggle against hostile propaganda and decisively cut short any attempts by the class enemy to insinuate ideas and views alien to the socialist order. It is a question of setting up a well-organized and efficient system of counterpropaganda at all levels, recruiting the press and television and radio extensively, along with the creative unions and organizations and the best trained of our ideological cadres.

Comrades. Guided by the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums, the republic party organization is carrying out great organizational and mass political work to mobilize the workers for the successful fulfillment and overfulfillment of the plans for the 11th Five-Year Plan. As a result, the republic's national economy completed last year with not bad results on the whole, and a firm foundation was laid for the dynamic development of all sectors of the economy in the concluding stage of the five-year plan.

Since early this year many labor collectives have been organizing work in a planned way in all elements of production. As a result, for industry as a whole the marketing plan for the first 2 months of this year was fulfilled.

At the same time, significant shortcomings and omissions have occurred in the activity of many enterprises and organizations, testifying to their poor preparations for work during the winter. The complacency of enterprise managers

who permitted organizational miscalculations played a not insignificant role in this. As a result, total industrial output in the republic increased only 1.6 percent during January and February compared with the corresponding period last year, while the increase for the annual plan was only 3 percent. The 2-month plan for the production of commodity output was not fulfilled and the number of lagging enterprises doubled.

The greatest lagging occurred in the enterprises of the Ministry of Industrial Construction Materials. Here, they failed to cope with the fulfillment of three-fourths of the total amount in the production plan and had a delivery shortfall of R7.2 million. I think that I have no need to explain what this means for construction. What is a cause of particular concern in this situation is that the ministry (minister comrade I.I. Demchenko) has not considered or taken steps to make up the lagging permitted in January and February.

This year the labor collectives of the Ministry of Local Industry are operating below their capacities. On the whole the sector failed to meet plans for the output of industrial products and consumer goods, and it produced less output from local raw materials and industrial waste than envisaged in the tasks. Some 43 enterprises in the processing industry failed to meet the plan targets for the 2-month period. Their output shortfall amounted to R12 million in that time.

During the first 2 months of the year enterprises of the republic Ministry of the Fruit and Vegetable Industry produced 30 million nominal cans of products less than during the corresponding period last year. Although for the republic as a whole the plan to produce industrial consumer goods was overfulfilled, seven ministries and administrations, including the ministries of industrial construction materials, light industry, procurement and consumer services, and many enterprises of all-union subordination did not fulfill the tasks set for them under this indicator.

Many economic leaders have repeatedly been criticized for disrupting the plan in terms of products lists and range for industrial output. Notwithstanding, the position did not improve in January and February of this year. For the republic as a whole the plan for deliveries under contract for industry was fulfilled only 97.7 percent. This is about 1 percent lower than for the corresponding period last year. Almost one-third of the production collectives failed to cope with their contractual obligations, including in the Ministry of Local Industry, the Ministry of Industrial Construction Materials and the Ministry of Procurements. In almost every city and rayon in the republic there are enterprises that are greatly in debt to consumers.

It must also be noted that during the past 2 months one association and enterprise in four failed to fulfill the plan for raising labor productivity, and one in three even had lower growth rates. The worst indicators for plan fulfillment in raising labor productivity were found at enterprises and organizations of the ministries of industrial construction materials, viticulture and winemaking, procurement, construction and a number of others. In terms of this indicator plans were not fulfilled in Bendery, Tiraspol, Kagul and Rybnitsa and in Glodyanskiy, Yedinetskiy, Suvorovskiy and Floreshtskiy rayons. What is a cause of special concern is the fact that in some places the wages fund significantly outstripped labor productivity growth.

The start of this year also showed that many ministries and administrations and enterprise and organization managers are not attaching the proper significance to reserves for raising labor productivity, such as the rational and thrifty utilization of materials and raw materials and fuel and energy resources, and the struggle against waste and mismanagement. It should be emphasized that the republic ministries and administrations do not always correctly determine their requirements for raw materials and materials and energy and fuel. This leads to the stockpiling of excess resources and creates conditions for mismanagement. These kinds of gross violations are encountered most frequently at enterprises and organizations of the republic Ministry of Construction, Ministry of Rural Construction, Ministry of Procurement and Ministry of Local Industry, and also at enterprises of all-union subordination.

In January, instead of the 0.5-percent reduction in output prime costs envisaged in socialist pledges for this year, there was a 0.21-percent increase. One-fourth of the production collectives failed to meet this indicator. The greatest increases in prime costs occurred at the industrial enterprises of the Ministry of Industrial Construction Materials, the Ministry of Construction and the Ministry of the Fruit and Vegetable Industry and enterprises of all-union subordination.

During the winter serious shortcomings were seen in the operation of the republic's energy system. During January and February, at the Moldavskiy GRES gross violations in the use of fuel were permitted, and the number of equipment stoppages increased. The GRES failed to generate almost 170 million kilowatt-hours of electric power. This led to numerous periods of downtime for capacities and the disruption of technological processes in agriculture. A central committee bureau decision issued a severe reprimand to the chief of Moldglavenergo, comrade B.P. Karpov, and the GRES director, comrade G.P. Kior.

The party committees, however, must also make inquiries of many enterprise managers, in particular the Moldavian Potrebsoyuz and the Ministry of Housing and Municipal Services chiefs, for the serious violations permitted in limit discipline with regard to the use of electric power. For the republic as a whole, in the first two-and-a-half months of the year the excess use of electric power above the limits established was about 800 million kilowatt-hours. These and other shortcomings found in the operation of industry during the winter months indicate that many of the party organizations, economic leaders and ministries and administrations have not taken the steps necessary to mobilize the workers for stepped-up work since the start of the five-year plan which is now coming to an end, taking its features into account.

Instead of investigating in depth the causes of lagging by subordinate enterprises and helping them to reveal and utilize additional production reserves, the leaders of individual ministries have again resorted to the discredited practice of amending plans downward. During the first quarter this occurred in the ministries of industrial construction materials, light industry, and furniture and wood processing industry.

A single, first-priority economic-political task now faces us all and all the party, soviet and economic organs. It was defined by the CPSU Central

Committee March Plenum: "...It is essential to complete successfully the work to fulfill this year's plans for economic and social development and thus insure a confident start to the next five-year plan." All our efforts should be directed toward accomplishing this task.

The party gorkoms and raykoms and primary party organizations and the ministries and administrations and economic leaders must carefully study the state of affairs at enterprises and organizations and take practical steps to eliminate lagging and organize the stoppage-free operation of all production elements. Here, special attention should be paid to the fulfillment of plans for products lists and contract deliveries. No downward plan amendments must be permitted. Everything must be done to fulfill the plan for the first quarter.

We must consistently strive to achieve the further transition of industrial production onto an intensive path of development, improve utilization of the production potential that has been created in industry in the republic, unconditionally fulfill plans for the retooling and reconstruction of existing enterprises, introduce leading experience and the achievements of scientific and technical progress, and organize labor better at the enterprises. Everywhere, engineering thinking should be directed toward the extensive use of new technological processes that accelerate the production cycle and improve production efficiency.

The speaker went on to deal with the serious shortcomings and omissions in the organization of transportation operations. Only 3 out of 42 automotive enterprises fulfilled the January-February plan for volumes of freight carried. Only 7 of the 15 passenger automotive enterprises coped with their passenger transportation plans. Poor use is also being made of transportation facilities by client enterprises, primarily in the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources, the Ministry of Rural Construction, the Ministry of Construction, the Ministry of the Food Industry and the Ministry of Housing and Municipal Services.

This winter the collectives of the Moldavian Railroad operated at below their capabilities. Average daily freight moved on the railroad was 84.8 percent of the planned norms. Stoppages per freight-shipment operation increased 4.3 hours against the norm. Those receiving the freight were largely to blame for this. Over the 2.5-month period the average daily number of freight cars still not unloaded was more than 200; this was because of the extremely unsatisfactory organization of operations at ministry and administration enterprises. The unloading of freight cars was particularly bad in the organizations of the Kolkhoz Council and the ministries of rural construction, trade, industrial construction materials and others. The managers of the Moldavian Railroad must very carefully analyze the results of work under winter conditions and take immediate steps to eliminate the shortcomings and improve the operation of the entire railroad. What has been said also applies in full to the Moldavian Civil Aviation Administration, where there have also been considerable lagging in the fulfillment of plan tasks during the first 2 months of the year, in terms of the transportation of passengers and freight, and many omissions of an organizational nature.

This year the republic party organization faces major tasks in the field of agriculture. We must strengthen and develop the positive changes that were achieved in the third and fourth years of the five-year plan and reach the plan targets for all indicators. These tasks are not easy, especially if we take into account the fact that the severe winter somewhat slowed the realization of our plans and created additional difficulties in all sectors of the agro-industrial complex. What must be done to make efficient use of all reserves in the intensification of agricultural production and what steps must be taken to recoup the losses suffered by the sector because of the prolonged frosts were the subject of discussion at the republic branch meetings and the recent expanded meeting of the republic's Kolkhoz Council. Today the central committee buro would again like to draw the attention of the aktiv to the exceptional importance and urgency of these measures, and again emphasize the responsibility of party, soviet and agricultural organs for their implementation.

In viticulture it is essential to complete the spring complex of agrotechnical measures during the optimum periods, completing the pruning of the vineyards no later than 10 April and the tying and binding before 25 April. Great attention should be paid to reestablishing the vineyards damaged by frost, the timely completion of field operations, the extensive use of herbicides, and creation of the necessary soil stocks of mineral nutrients by means of applying the main mass of fertilizers during the spring. In horticulture it is necessary to make a careful study of the fruit plantations in all farms, on a differentiated basis, and to implement agrotechnical measures properly and make better use of irrigation and of herbicides and fertilizers. Special concern should be shown for protecting orchards against frosts during the period of blossoming, and from pests, diseases and weeds. It should be stressed that precise completion of the entire cycle of operations in the orchards and proper observance of technological discipline will make it possible to obtain not only a fine harvest of high quality fruit but also to harvest considerably more than last year.

In order to provide maximum compensation for the shortfall in the grape and fruit harvest, the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee and MSSR Council of Ministers have adopted a special decree "On Additional Measures To Increase the Production of Vegetables, Tobacco and Other Agricultural Produce in Connection with the Adverse Winter Conditions for Perennials." This document provides for a considerable increase in the production of vegetables. The gross harvest should be at least 1.5 million tons. In order to reach this target it is necessary to extend the sown areas by 10-15 percent, considerably increase the proportion of all early vegetables, particularly tomatoes, and make more efficient use of the potential of industrial technologies, new varieties, irrigation and the use of chemicals.

The gross tobacco harvest should exceed the plan by 30,000 tons, reaching 140,000 tons. In order to insure that this harvest is achieved, the hothouse and greenhouse farms at all kolkhozes and sovkhozes should be immediately increased 10-15 percent, and everywhere a healthy batch of seedlings should be grown, the soil properly prepared, and fertilizer and herbicides applied in good time.

Within the republic realistic opportunities exist for increasing yields and further increasing the production of sunflower and sugar beet. All that is needed is to make full use of them. In sunflower production the main thrust should be the introduction of hybrids on all sown areas. Industrial technologies should be applied everywhere to get a good return, and this year the yield of oleaginous seeds should be at least 25 quintals per hectare in both the northern and southern regions. In sugar beet production this year's favorable conditions and the abundant moisture should be used to obtain the maximum yield. All work to apply and rake in herbicides, sow the sugar beet, increase the richness and care for the plants should be done in good time and at a high agrotechnical level, and at least 3 million tons of sugar beet should be harvested.

This year, within the republic it is necessary to produce at least 3.1 million tons of grain for food and fodder. This can only be achieved under conditions of maximum retention of the winter sown area and by obtaining a harvest at least as good as last year. To this end, scant sowings of winter crops should be overseeded in good time and dressed twice, and they should be protected against weeds. Winter crops that have not yet sprouted need special care. Spring crops should be sown only on individual areas where seed loss has been significant; other areas should be overseeded and dressed and protective measures implemented.

This year specialists, vehicle operators and all farmers should devote considerable effort to the production of corn and to increasing the yield from every hectare sown to this crop. The potential of hybrids must be realized more fully by using them correctly in the various zones of the republic in accordance with the biological features. Up to 12 percent of all peas should be raised within the structure of the grain area. Active work must be continued to obtain high yields from this crop.

This year full use must be made of opportunities to obtain at least 60 or 70 quintals per hectare of fodder across the entire area sown to these crops. The cultivation of perennial grasses must be increased through the introduction of new technology, broadcast sowing [bespokrovnyye posevy], maximum irrigation and full application of the recommended doses of fertilizers. Special attention should be paid to growing crops for silage. This matter is just as important as the cultivation of corn for grain.

Reaching the targets that have been set requires considerable improvement in the work of the agricultural ministries and administrations and a general transfer to the rails of specifics. What is needed is not paper, telephone messages, meetings and pronouncements, but precise arrangements and the monitoring of such arrangements. Executors should be subject to strict control with regard to the timely completion of measures outlined, and for final results. Finally, the skillful, operational resolution of problems is required on the spot, as they arise.

Because of the late spring, this year certain difficulties have occurred in preparing the soil for spring crops. A large volume of work must be done in compressed periods. Here, not the slightest deviation from agrotechnical requirements should be permitted. The role of the vehicle operators in completing

this task is exceptionally great. The party raykoms and rayispolkoms and the agricultural cadres must surround them with solicitude, create good working and everyday conditions for them, and insure the reliable and highly productive operation of equipment. More attention must be paid to the activity of mechanization associations and they should be placed in a position of full dependence on the final results of production.

The readiness of irrigation systems and equipment by the start of the season should be placed under the special control of party, soviet and economic organs. Meanwhile, however, almost 10 percent of irrigated land has not been prepared for watering. In Kotovskiy, Kantemirskiy, Kaushanskiy, Slobodzeyskiy and a number of other rayons work on cleaning and repairing the irrigation networks on farms is unsatisfactory.

Great opportunities exist this year for developing small-scale irrigation. The network of various kinds of reservoirs must be considerably expanded and filled with the necessary stores of water. This is a task not only for farm chiefs but also the land reclamation associations, the State Committee for the Supply of Production Equipment for Agriculture, and the Moldsel'khozkhimiya.

After dealing in depth with questions of the development of public livestock farming, comrade Grossu noted that in recent years within the republic a precise line has been drawn up for managing this sector, and specific steps taken to intensify it. This has yielded positive results. Further growth in livestock produce production and procurement is envisaged this year also. However, what has been achieved should not be overestimated. It is essential to increase the output of livestock produce at each farm by a minimum of 8-10 percent. This will constitute a significant addition to this year's food resources. In order to reach this target it is necessary first and foremost to improve cattle productiveness by creating a guaranteed fodder base, improving animal care, and everywhere introducing industrial technologies.

There are still many farm chiefs, rayon farming organs and even ministries in the republic today that have still not been thoroughly imbued with a sense of personal responsibility for the state of affairs in livestock farming. The fact that compared with November and December last year, in January and February for the republic as a whole there was a decline in the productiveness of animals being reared to maturity and fattened, and consequently a large shortfall in meat, can be explained only by the irresponsibility and laxity of individual economic personnel and the inadequate attention of party raykoms to questions concerning development in the sector.

Bessarabskiy and Komratskiy rayons started the year with poor results in livestock farming. During the first 2 months of the year farms in Kagul'skiy, Kalarashskiy, Kantemirovskiy and Rezinskiy rayons sold the state less milk than last year. The productiveness of the milking herd in Chimishliyskiy and Kriulyanskiy rayons fell. Hog-rearing facilities in Tarakliyskiy and Yedinetskiy rayons operated at below capacities, and at beef-raising enterprises in Kantemirskiy, Kotovskiy and Glodyanskiy rayons the productiveness of young animals was low.

Party, soviet and economic organs must bring order to the lagging farms and insure rhythmic fulfillment of plan tasks. It is essential to improve labor

and production discipline at farms and facilities and to enhance the responsibility of each worker for his assignment and for the precise completion of his duties. Now, when mass calving, lambing and farrowing is in progress, the main task is to care for the young animals.

During March a marked advance in milk production was achieved. By 20 March the quarterly plan for milk production and procurement had been fulfilled. This result must be reinforced. We have every opportunity for producing milk above the plan this year and for completely eliminating the lagging that occurred during the early years of the five-year plan.

Everything must be done in order to complete the overwintering of cattle and continue to build up cattle productiveness and the volumes of livestock farming production and procurement during the spring and summer periods.

Talking about the problems of capital construction, the speaker stressed that the new economic year got underway with the construction workers disorganized. The 2-month plan for capital construction was not fulfilled. For the republic as a whole the limit on capital investments was assimilated only 71 percent, and for construction-and-assembly work only 72 percent. This is considerably lower than last year.

The reasons for the decline in capital construction at the start of each year compared with the level at the end of the previous year have already been discussed. They are found primarily in the serious omissions in the work of personnel in general and management in particular. It is not so much the severe winter as the repeated unforgiveable tardiness in ministries' finalizing the construction programs, that is to blame for the disruptions, and also passing the construction programs to the subordinate organizations; and also the fact that at many construction sites contract work is not started in good time.

One direct consequence of underestimating this aspect of the activity of personnel called upon to provide the construction program for construction sites and to organize all the necessary work in good time is also the disruption of plan fulfillment on many important projects, and also the construction of housing, schools, children's preschool establishments and public health facilities in the cities of Kishinev, Tiraspol, Beltsy, Bendery and Rybnitsa and a number of the rural rayons.

All the construction organization worked poorly, but this applies in particular to the leading contractors. For two consecutive years indicators for the Ministry of Construction have fallen. Early in February the central committee secretariat drew the attention of comrade N.I. Uzun to the poor organization of construction production. But the situation is not being corrected. The Ministry of Rural Construction has been unable to consolidate its success of last year, and this year the Moldavian Main Administration for Industrial Assembly Work is failing to meet its targets. As before, construction plans using private subcontract organizations and the cost-accounting methods by nonconstruction ministries are being fulfilled only poorly. The Kolkhozstroy Production Association operated poorly during the first quarter.

The leaders of the construction ministries, administrations and contract organizations must conduct an in-depth analysis of the state of affairs at each construction site, particularly at construction sites nearing completion, and quickly pass them precise plans for construction and assembly work. The shortcomings in the organization of production and labor at the construction sites must be eliminated more quickly, effort and material-technical resources concentrated on decisive sectors, and two- and three-shift work and the combining of assembly, special and finishing work introduced.

Together with the economic leaders the party gorkoms and raykoms and gorispolkoms and rayispolkoms must determine ways for providing each construction site with workers using local resources. Socialist competition must be properly organized at construction projects, the labor discipline of construction workers raised, problems of organizing everyday life for the construction workers resolved more actively, and the level of indoctrination work raised. Exactingness toward leading personnel by the construction organizations and party control over their activities should be strengthened.

It is necessary to give serious attention to improving construction in land reclamation. This year land reclamation construction started badly. The program for the first quarter was completed only 45.5 percent. The "Yugovodstroy Association completed only 51.8 percent of its contract work during January and February. All this is a matter for serious concern on the part of leaders in the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources and the construction ministries and the party raykoms and rayispolkoms. It is essential to transform land reclamation projects into shock construction sites, enhance the role of the party organizations there, and provide help for personnel in improving labor and production organization.

One of the most important sectors for raising the material well-being of the Soviet people and satisfying their requirements is, as is known, the services sphere. Without in any way belittling the significance of the work that has been done here, today it is necessary to draw attention to a number of serious shortcomings, seen in the nonfulfillment of plans for the first 2 months of the year. The enterprises and organizations of the Ministry of Trade, particularly the Moldavian Potrebsoyuz, are operating poorly. The plan for total trade turnover has not been fulfilled by any of the rayon potrebsoyuz's. Last year our republic permitted a drop in the level of domestic services offered for the rural population. Things did not improve in January and February of this year.

This state of affairs should be a cause for serious concern on the part of the leaders in the ministries of trade and of consumer services and the Moldavian Potrebsoyuz. The party gorkoms and raykoms are also obliged to establish a principled attitude toward the services sphere. It is essential to look into the reasons for the disruption of plans for trade turnover and marketing of consumer services, provide better training for personnel who head trade and domestic services enterprises and raise exactingness toward them, and show concern for strengthening the material-technical base of these sectors.

In the speech of CPSU Central Committee general secretary comrade M.S. Gorbachev, the speaker went on to note, a clear-cut and precise program for party action

and for action by all the Soviet people was set forth for the country's further socioeconomic development. Full implementation of the demands made in it is a primary task for the republic party organization. Now it is necessary to conduct extensive propaganda and explanatory work on the materials of the CPSU Central Committee plenum. The party aktiv and ideological workers and all our cadres should participate most directly in this work.

Deep and comprehensive study of the plenum materials should be organized in all labor collectives and training establishments and at people's places of residence. In this matter extensive use should be made of the system of party and Komsomol education and of political reports and political information and the facilities of the republic, city, rayon and large-circulation press, radio and television, the Znaniye society and the cultural and educational establishments and the mobilizing force of visual agitation.

In conclusion comrade Grossu assured the CPSU Central Committee on behalf of the republic party aktiv that the communists and all the workers of Moldavia, rallied closely around the CPSU Leninist Central Committee and Politburo, headed by comrade M.S. Gorbachev, will do everything necessary to implement the tasks set by the CPSU Central Committee Extraordinary March Plenum and to successfully fulfill the plans of the 11th Five-Year Plan and greet the 27th CPSU Congress in a worthy manner.

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REGIONAL

LITHUANIAN CP CC BURO SESSION REPORTED

Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 27 Feb 85 p 1

[Unattributed Article: "In the Buro of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] The Buro of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee at its latest session heard information concerning the course of preparations for spring planting presented by Yu. Bernatavichyus, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Commission for Questions of the Agroindustrial Complex of the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers Presidium. It is noted in the decree adopted in regard to this issue that specific organizational and practical work for the preparation of spring planting is being carried out by the ministries and departments of the agroindustrial complex, by the Alytus and Kapsukas city party committees, by the Lithuanian Communist Party rayon party committees, by the rayon soviet executive committees, by the RAPO councils, and by collective farms and state farms. On the whole, the farms have provided themselves with seed for grain crops, potatoes, perennial grasses, and flax. They have built up their emergency supplies. All seed for summer grain crops and leguminous crops has been brought up to the required condition. All in all, the repair of tractors and of planting and soil cultivating equipment is occurring in an organized manner. A greater quantity of organic fertilizers has been delivered to the fields than during the previous year. The training and recruitment of machine operator cadres is being completed.

At the same time, the Buro of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee believes that many lagging sectors and farms are hidden behind the average positive indicators and that deficiencies and omissions exist. The republic Sortsemovoshch association is insufficiently providing the population with seeds for individual types of vegetable crops. The repair of [energonasy-shchenyye] energy-saturated tractors is proceeding at a slow pace. The State Committee for the Supply of Production Equipment for Agriculture is not taking the necessary measures for providing tractors with spare parts and reconditioned assemblies and units. At several farms, proper attention is not being paid to the acquisition of wide-cut planting and soil cultivating machine units. Cadres of machine operators have not been recruited at many farms.

Omissions exist in the work of the Ionava Azot production association. The Buro has required the ministries and departments of the agroindustrial complex, the rayon party, soviet, and agricultural organs, as well as administrators and secretaries of the party organizations of the farms to institute additional measures for eliminating the deficiencies mentioned. It requires that special attention be directed to the completion of operations at every farm for the provision of seed for all crops and their improvement to high planting standards, as well as that forces of highly qualified specialists be organized for verifying the readiness of the machine park for spring field work. It requires that effective socialist competition be developed among machine operators and other workers employed in work for the preparation for and carrying out of spring planting and that publicity for it be provided for. It requires that an efficient form for the organization and payment of labor--the collective contract--be widely instituted. A decisive struggle must be waged against mismanagement, apathy, and an unconscientious attitude towards the task. Strict accounting of fuel and other material assets must be established and their economical expenditure achieved. A principled appraisal must be made of instances of infringement of labor and technological discipline. We must strive so that all spring field operations might be conducted on a high-quality basis and within the best agrotechnical time periods.

Decrees of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee and of the republic Council of Ministers were adopted at the meeting, which are aimed at improving the utilization of nonferrous metals in the national economy, the further development and advancement of the technical level of secondary nonferrous metallurgy, as well as the strengthening of the material-technical base and the development of telephone network services provided to the population.

The Buro of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee examined the results of socialist competition for the successful fulfillment of the State plan for the economic and social development of the Lithuanian SSR and the socialist obligations adopted for 1984, as well as the results of socialist competition in the fields of public education, public health care, culture, and physical culture and sports for the year 1984 and the results of socialist competition of the collectives of vocational-technical education institutions in the field of the training and communist indoctrination of highly skilled workers for 1984. Appropriate decrees of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, the republic Council of Ministers, the Lithuanian Republic Trade Unions Council, and the Lithuanian Komsomol Central Committee were adopted on these issues.

Decrees were also adopted at the Buro meeting in regard to a number of other issues pertaining to the economic and cultural life of the republic.

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CSO: 1800/203

REGIONAL

## STATISTICS IN ESTONIAN SUPREME SOVIET OUTLINED

Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 24 Feb 85 p 1

[Article by V. Vakht, secretary of the Presidium of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet: "The Soviet People Vote"]

[Text] Today, on the day of regular elections for the supreme soviet and local soviets of people's deputies in the Estonian SSR, one is forced to look at what has happened and what has been done during the years which have passed from elections to elections. Gratifying results are seen in all branches of the national economy and areas of human activity. The economy has grown and the Land of the Soviets--our homeland--has become richer. Significant changes for the better and for a qualitatively new and more perfect state of affairs have occurred in the labor collectives. Our cities and villages have become more beautiful.

The soviets of people's deputies are implementing daily the five-year and annual plans for economic and social development, and are exhibiting constant concern about the overall development of their administrative territories. In their work they are taking into account the needs of the population and the demands of the time. Consider the following examples. A large micro-rayon with an intricate structure for the servicing of 180,000 inhabitants by modern standards is being built in Tallinn. In 1982, the central rayon hospital in Byru admitted its first patients, and recently an exposition on the history of Vyrumaa was opened here in the new building of the museum of local lore, history and economy. A new transmitting radio-television station began to operate in Kokhtla-Yarve this year.

A chrome leather plant and bath house complex have been put into operation in Narva, and a school for 1,284 students is being built in the Soldinsky micro-rayon which will already accept students this year. A kindergarten-nursery school has been opened in the Vilyandiskiy support and demonstration sovkhoz, and the local rayon hospital is currently being moved into new buildings. In the Likhula village soviet of Rakvereskiy rayon, a store, new roads and a kindergarten for 25 children have been built, a local post office has been opened, the construction of a restaurant is being completed, and a picturesque reservoir has been created. A new building for the rayon hospital is being built in Kingisepp. Seven schools, 14 pre-school children's

institutions, 12 trade enterprises, 4 consumer service establishments and as many public health institutions have been built on the instructions of the voters alone in the republic.

Today, in voting for the candidates from the bloc of communists and non-communists, we are electing to the organs of power those on whose shoulders largely rest the concerns of future affairs, which, as always, are greater than those of the past. Elections to the organs of power in our country traditionally take place with a high voter turnout, which indicates the strong bonds between the soviets and the population.

A digression into history confirms this. Already during the first elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet, which were conducted in December, 1937, on the basis of the USSR Constitution of 1936, the political involvement of the workers was unprecedentedly high. Some 96.8 percent of the voters participated in the elections. The elections to the local soviets which occurred in December, 1939, were marked by an increased involvement of citizens. Some 99.3 percent of the voters participated in those elections. In all, 1.277 million deputies were elected to almost 70,000 soviets. In comparison with previous elections, the bloc of communists and non-communists gained a brilliant victory. Indeed, in 1921, the workers' attendance at the elections was 20-30 percent, and in 1934, 77 percent. More and more citizens have appeared at the elections with each subsequent electoral campaign. The broad masses of workers have successfully mastered the experience of solving local and national public problems.

Elections in our country as a whole and in Soviet Estonia as well are indeed general. Practically the entire adult population participates in them. Already in the elections of 14-15 June 1940 in Estonia, 84.1 percent of the voters participated, and 99.33 percent participated in the first post-war elections to the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet on 16 February 1947. At the time of the 1980 elections, 99.99 percent of the voters came to the polling stations, that is, only 47 persons did not vote.

In voting for the candidates from the bloc of communists and non-communists, the people believe in the soviets and know that under the leadership of the party in the future they will even more fully carry out their functions, and have an effective influence on the development of the economy and of culture, and on raising the national welfare.

The vanguard role of the communist party, which manages society both directly and through the basic links of its political system, and most of all through the soviets, is an indispensable condition for the successful construction of socialism and communism. In 1980, 193 members and candidate members of the CPSU were elected as deputies of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet, and 4,920 members and candidate members of the CPSU, or 44.7 percent of the total number of deputies, were elected to the local soviets. Party leadership has been and remains the most important condition for the successful work of the soviets, and the principal source of their power in all stages of creating a new society.

Due to the profoundly scientific national policy of the Communist Party, friendship among the nations of our country has been strengthened. A new, historical community of peoples--the Soviet people--has arisen on the firm foundation of the legal and real equality of the nations and the nationalities of the USSR and of their fraternal cooperation. The national composition of the soviets of people's deputies also conclusively reflects this community.

The highest organ of state power in the USSR consists of two chambers: the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of the Nationalities. In all, deputies from 63 nationalities, including 25 Estonians, were elected to the eleventh USSR Supreme Soviet on 4 March 1984.

Among the deputies to the tenth Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet were 209 Estonians (73 percent), 63 Russians, 6 Ukrainians, and there are Belarusians, Latvians and Poles--that is, representatives from six nationalities. By the way, four Estonians were elected as deputies of the supreme soviets of other union and autonomous republics.

The membership of the local soviets in the Estonian SSR is more multinational--there are deputies from 26 nationalities in them. Of 11,010 deputies, 9,315 persons, or 84.5 percent, were Estonians. At the same time, there were 696 deputies of Estonian nationality in the local soviets of people's deputies of other union republics. The equality and brotherhood of the peoples of our country are reflected in these figures. The number of deputies in the membership of local soviets, as well as the number of these soviets, is increasing steadily with the growth of the country's population. Thus, in comparison with the previous elections in 1980 in the USSR, there were 14,024 more deputies in the elections of 1982. The rayon and village soviets, in which the number of deputies has tripled and quadrupled in comparison with the elections of 1950, have especially become stronger. In today's elections, 11,085 deputies of local soviets are being elected (that is 75 more deputies than there were in the previous membership of the soviets). As always, every second one of them is being elected for the first time.

Workers and kolkhozniks now occupy a leading role in the soviets. Thus, in the 1983 elections for the local soviets in the Estonian SSR, 47.8 percent were deputy-workers and 19.5 percent were deputy-kolkhozniks. In 1948, only 13.6 percent of those entering local soviets were deputy-workers. In the last elections for the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet, 144 workers and kolkhozniks, or 50.5 percent of the total number of deputies, were elected.

It is essential to note the growing role of women in the membership of the soviets. The number of women-deputies in the USSR Supreme Soviet has increased from 16.5 percent in the first term (1937-1946) to 32.8 percent in the eleventh term of the highest organ of power in the USSR, which was elected in March of 1984. Women made up 35.4 percent of the membership of the last term of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet, and 49.5 percent of the local soviets. V. I. Lenin's prophetic words have

come true: "We need for the woman worker to attain equality with the male worker not only in law, but in life....Elect more women-workers--both communists and non-communists--to the Soviet."

Young men and women who were born in 1966-1967 are participating in today's elections, and among them are almost 17,000 persons who are voting for the first time. A young person 18 years old and older has the right not only to vote on an equal footing with the adult population, but can also be elected as a deputy to the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet or to a local soviet. Youth up to 30 years of age made up 19.6 percent of the membership in the previous term of the republic's supreme soviet, and 35.7 percent of the local soviets. There is no doubt that our young voters are displaying the usual involvement and are voting unanimously today for the people's candidates to the supreme and local organs of power of the republic.

People of various ages and professions, communists, komsomol members and non-communists, men and women are being elected to the soviets and are making their contribution to the business of constructing and strengthening the state. With each election, more and more new people are entering the organs of state power in order to transfer their experience to the person who will be elected after them in the next stage. Thus, the multinational Soviet people is passing through the school of managing the state through all the levels of Soviet power, from local soviets to the USSR Supreme Soviet, and transferring the baton of serving the people to the best of their best representatives. More than 120,000 persons have passed through this school in the capacity of deputy in the last 25 years alone in the Estonian SSR.

The following was stated in comrade K. U. Chernenko's speech which was published yesterday and was addressed to the voters of the Kubyshev electoral district of Moscow: "The elections to the soviets of people's deputies are always a festive event in the life of our country. As a matter of fact, it is a celebration--a celebration of socialist democracy. Of a democracy which really and in practice guarantees the broad interested participation of millions of workers in administering the state."

Thus, our state power is carried out through the soviets of people's deputies. Today the Soviet people are voting for it once again.

12810  
CSO: 1800/234

REGIONAL

JPRS-UPS-85-044  
22 May 1985

MSSR BUREO CENSURES CONSTRUCTION MINISTRY, PARTY ORGANIZATION

Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 27 Mar 85 p 1

/Article: "In the Moldavian CP Central Committee"

/Excerpt/ At its regularly schedule meeting the Moldavian CP Central Committee Buro discussed the question concerning the work of the MSSR Ministry of Construction Collegium on improving the manner and methods of the industry's management in light of the requirements of the March (1985) Plenum and the CPSU Central Committee's resolution on the Moldavian CP Central Committee's report.

The Central Committee Buro noted that the MSSR Ministry of Construction Collegium, guided by the CPSU Central Committee directives, is implementing measures for improving their own work, for increasing their personnel's accuracy on the job and responsibility for assigned tasks and for strengthening executory discipline. This has been shown in a positive manner in the growth rates of construction output volumes and in the realization of plans for initiating projects for production purposes, for polyclinics and for vocational and technical schools.

At the same time the collegium, the minister N. I. Uzun, and his deputies have not completely improved their manner and methods of work in compliance with the requirements of the CPSU Central Committee, and they have not drawn the proper conclusions from the criticism addressed towards them at plenums and in the Moldavian CP Central Committee Buro. As before they have a propensity for bureaucratic management methods and have not been able to create in the labor collectives a sense of high exactingness, of responsibility for the realization of finished plans and strict observance of state and planning discipline.

In their work the collegium and the minister have not yet eliminated uncritical evaluation of matters in the industry and of the work of individual managers and specialists. Nor have they eliminated a propensity for adopting minimally effective decisions and measures. They do not pay proper attention to the introduction into the industry of new equipment and up-to-date methods, of the team contract and of the organization of socialist competition. A fundamental evaluation cannot be carried out by personnel who tolerate work failures. Control and organization in carrying out party, government and their own decisions are set up poorly. The minister and his deputies spend a large and

unwarranted amount of time on short-term trips to construction sites, on meetings and on progress conferences to the detriment of the work with the staff, which led to a reduction of its role and influence on the state of affairs in subordinate subunits and on the resolution of current and long-term engineering and technical questions.

Because of the stated deficiencies and others in the system, the ministries are unsatisfactorily using the potential opportunities for increasing the volume of capital construction and for raising the quality of construction work. For the past 4 years of the 5-year plan the production plans have not been fulfilled, the capital-output ratio has been reduced and the growth of wages has been outstripping the labor productivity growth rates.

The ministry party organization (N. I. Gavrilenko, secretary) does not demand the requisite exactingness from the communists-managers for the state of affairs in the entrusted sectors, does not exercise complete control over the activities of the staff in the fulfillment of party and government directives, does not exert specific influence to improve the staff's work and to strengthen discipline and does not give political evaluation to the facts of the loss of a feeling of responsibility for assigned tasks on the part of individual communists, of carelessness and irresponsibility.

Having noted that the manner and methods of work of the collegium of the MSSR Ministry of Construction, the minister N. I. Uzun, and his deputies do not completely comply with the CPSU Central Committee's directives, the Central Committee Buro demanded that they eliminate the noted deficiencies and direct organizational work for further improvement of the manner and methods of the ministry staff's activities and of the administrators and managers of subordinate subunits and for increasing work efficiency. They were directed to provide an efficient system of control for fulfillment of the CPSU Central Committee's requirements, of the Moldavian CP Central Committee's resolutions and of other directive agencies on questions of capital construction and of their own decisions, in order to achieve the realization of the tasks assigned to the ministry. They are to concentrate attention on resolving the questions of improvement of the technology and organization of construction, of the engineering preparation of production, of the expansion of team and flow-line contracts, of shortening deadlines, of improving the quality of construction and of increasing labor productivity, organizing and mobilizing the role of the plan. They are to improve work with personnel, promoting their professional and business growth in every possible way, persistently and consistently teaching a Leninist work manner and establishing a reliable reserve of personnel and the requisite conditions for stabilization of the collectives. In 1985 they are to eliminate the lag permitted in the current 5-year plan in the commissioning of housing and buildings intended for social purposes and they are to establish steady anticipatory work for the work in the 1st year of the 12th five year plan.

The Central Committee Buro made it incumbent on the ministry's party organization (N. I. Gavrilenko) to strive persistently for improvement of the staff's manner and methods of work, for the efficient fulfillment of its chartered and official obligations to every worker, and first and foremost, to the

communists, to develop their initiative and to increase their responsibility for exercising effective management of the industry and to reorganize with regard for the resolutions of the extraordinary March (1985) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee the work on strengthening control of the staff's activities in fulfilling party and government directives, and to regard intolerably any occurrence of disorganization and carelessness on the part of personnel.

12951  
CSO: 1800/223

REGIONAL

### KASSR IRRIGATION NEEDS IMPROVEMENT

Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 20 Mar 85 p 1

[Editorial: "Developing Small-Scale Land Reclamation"]

[Excerpts] Today, irrigated lands in Kazakhstan comprise more than 2 million hectares. Great attention is being paid to the development of land reclamation in the republic. During the past year alone, about 70,000 hectares of new tracts under irrigation have been brought into operation. By the year 2000, the area of irrigated arable land will increase to 3 to 3.5 million hectares. Already today, irrigated land making up a total of only 5 percent of the land area under cultivation produces nearly a third of the value of the entire volume of gross agricultural output.

In developing irrigation, all water resources in the republic are being utilized. As noted at the 15th Plenum of the Kazakh Central Committee, long-term small-scale land reclamation--irrigated agriculture on the basis of underground rivers--is promising. During the past few years, such rich deposits of moisture as Merkensko-Lugovskoy, Suzanskiy, Nizhneiliyskiy, Karadalinskiy, Irtyshskiy, Aksuyskiy, and others, have been located and put into service. Their value and great economic significance lie in the fact that they are located in regions where surface sources do not exist.

At present, more than 1,400 wells are in operation in six oblasts of Kazakhstan, which produce about 137 million cubic meters of water annually. This is a great aid to irrigated agriculture. Feed crops, vegetables, and corn are being cultivated through the utilization of underground water and natural grasslands are being irrigated by means of it.

Underground water is being utilized in a particularly effective manner at the Kolkhoz imeni 30-letiye Kazakhskoy SSR in Pavlodar Oblast. Here, in cooperation with scientists, a technology for mechanized watering with the use of modern sprinkling systems has been developed. Thanks to it, 45 centners of feed units apiece are obtained from every hectare under irrigation.

Experience in oasis-type agriculture has been accumulated in the republic, but, unfortunately, underground water is not being used rationally everywhere. In this respect, the farms themselves and the organizations which service land reclamation systems, as well as the planners, are guilty. Many

wells are not operating or operate with a small water yield. Power pumping equipment and sprinkling systems frequently stand idle. As a result, irrigation is performed at less than full strength, and, therefore, the yield from the irrigated field is low. This is why many sovkhozes and kolkhozes obtain smaller harvests than progressive farms on unirrigated land.

One of the greatest troubles experienced by many farms is the lack of qualified specialists and irrigation experts. The servicing of the system is being entrusted to workers who do not have specialized training. For this reason, installations and sprinkling equipment frequently stand idle. In many rayons, enhancement of the skills of irrigation experts is not being carried out.

The Kazglavpodzemvod main administration was established in the republic 6 years ago and called upon to deal with issues involving small-scale irrigation. Up until the present, however, its oblast administrations have not strengthened the material base, a shortage of specialized truck cranes for the installation of deep well equipment is being felt in the rayons, motor transport is lacking, and production sections are not everywhere manned by skilled cadres.

The repair of pumps for deep wells has turned into a major problem. They are being put out of operation owing to unskilled maintenance and frequent losses of electrical power. For this reason, the wells at many farms do not operate for many months. It is necessary to repair hundreds of pumps, and the oblast administrations and rayon sections attempt to get out of the situation that has arisen in any way possible.

It is essential to construct a specialized plant in the republic. Its erection has been planned, but construction will need many years for the development of planning estimates. For this reason, it is essential for the republic's Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources to find additional capacity for the reconditioning of pumps for deep wells. This can be done first of all by introducing into service as quickly as possible operating plants for drilling assemblies and the repair of compressor equipment in Aral'sk, the construction of which has been delayed to an excessive degree.

Already today, it is possible to irrigate more than 500,000 hectares of arid land using known supplies of underground water. They must be put into service for the national economy. However, the construction of oasis-type irrigation systems is being conducted at an extremely slow pace. Glavrissovkhozstroy, which is the general contractor for the construction of small-scale irrigation projects, is deserving of severe criticism. The builders have systematically failed to fulfill plan targets. Over a 6 year period they were supposed to bring 90,000 hectares into service, but a total of only 13,500 hectares were improved. Such a slow pace is acceptable to no one. Glavrissovkhozstroy must definitely rectify the situation which has arisen.

The tasks involved in the further development of small-scale irrigation need to be solved without delay. Party organizations as well as soviet, agricultural, and water management organs must show great interest in this important matter.

REGIONAL

JPRS-UPS-85-044

22 May 1985

KASSR: RECYCLING OF SCRAP IRON INADEQUATE

Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 16 Mar 85 p 2

[Article by R. Bakauov, director, Kazakh republic production association Vtorchermet, under the rubric "Saving National Wealth": "The Open Hearth Furnaces Waiting for Metal"]

[Excerpts] The production of iron from scrap metal costs 25 times less than producing it from pig iron. The replacement of a single ton of pig iron by a ton of scrap saves 210 rubles in capital investments. And the transportation equipment which is required for shipping scrap is five to six times less than that required for shipping the materials needed for the production of pig iron.

Over the past 4 years of the current Five-Year Plan, 9,587,300 tons of scrap and waste from ferrous metals have been collected in the republic. At the enterprises belonging to Vtorchermet, much valuable metallurgical raw material has been reprocessed and delivered to users.

Nevertheless, the possibilities currently available are far from being fully utilized. Over 4 years' time, the plan for delivery of scrap has been underfulfilled by more than 150,000 tons. An especially large shortfall was permitted in 1984. Only Mangyshlak Oblast and Alma-Ata fulfilled the target. Kolkhozes and sovkhozes under the Ministry of Agriculture as well as enterprises under the State Committee for the Supply of Production Equipment for Agriculture (Goskomsel'knoztekhnika), the Ministry of Motor Transport (Minavtotransport), and the Ministry of the Fruit and Vegetable Industry (Minplodoovoshchkhoz) are heavily in debt to the metallurgists.

During the past year, an audit of the fulfillment of plans and targets for the collection and delivery of scrap and ferrous metals waste by enterprises and organizations under the Ministry of Agriculture and Goskomsel'knoztekhnika KaSSR was carried out. What, in fact, did the investigations show? At 70 farms which were audited and which on the day of the audit had a liability for scrap delivery equal to 2,900 tons, more than 8,500 tons were discovered to be on hand.

Instead of solving the specific problems of the organization of metal scrap collection and delivery, they [the managers] prefer to "buy themselves off" from Vtorchermet through the payment of substantial amounts of fines out of

sovkhоз funds. Thus, for example, the Voskhod sovkhоз in 1984 paid fines amounting to 13,947 rubles, Chernigovskiy sovkhоз paid 2,564 rubles, and the sovkhозes of the Derzhavinskiy rayon agricultural administration paid 19,000 rubles. In addition, they were also sued for significant sums on the basis of the 1984 results.

And how is available metal scrap stored? The territory of many sovkhозes and kolkhozes, enterprises under the Ministry of Railways Industry (MPS) and Minavtotransport, as well as those of a number of other ministries and departments presents quite an unattractive picture. Agricultural machinery, transportation equipment, and various machine units, aggregates, and parts written off long ago are scattered about.

Computations show that in the republic's agriculture alone about 40,000 to 50,000 tons of metal accumulate every year, which for a long period is not included in national economic circulation, is exposed to corrosion, loses its value, and is frequently irretrievably lost.

At almost all of the farms audited, no accounting is made of the formation of scrap and ferrous metal waste, as the instructions approved by the USSR Ministry of Finance and the USSR Central Statistical Administration require. Metal scrap left over at the beginning of the month is not shipped out. Areas for its collection, separation, and storage have not been provided for.

Many kolkhozes and sovkhозes of course need to be given technical assistance for the separation of depreciated equipment and the delivery of metal scrap to Vtorchermet reception points. The appropriate government decree provides for the rendering of such assistance by Goskomsel'knoztekhnika associations. The terms of reimbursement for their expenses have been elaborated and approved for this purpose. Nevertheless, until now Goskomsel'knoztekhnika KaSSR is carrying out such work only in Alma-Ata Oblast. Goskomsel'khoztekhnika enterprises refuse to conclude agreements with the kolkhozes and sovkhозes, taking refuge, as behind a shield in references to a shortage of labor resources, transportat facilities, and appropriate equipment and machinery. The kolkhozes and sovkhозes, for their part, consider the accounting expenses for the separation of scrap and its delivery to the enterprises of Sel'khoztekhnika to be excessively high.

Located on the republic's territory are 117 enterprises having an annual volume of metal scrap deliveries in excess of 1,500 tons per year. And only 13-14 of them have sections for processing scrap and unproductive equipment, where a total of 3.5 to 4 percent of the metal scrap which they create is processed. Yet the possibilities available to them are great. This is indicated by the work experience of such enterprises as VChD-6 [expansion unknown], from which 3,800 of the 5,400 tons of scrap delivered to Vtorchermet were delivered in processed form. Out of 4,400 tons, the Alma-Ata heavy machine-building plant delivered 3,400 tons in processed form. More than 30 percent is processed at the Tselinograd railcar repair association, the Karaganda metal structures plant, Alma-Ata motor vehicle repair association no. 1, and several others.

We also have complaints against the railway workers who solve transport problems ineffectively and are frequently unwilling to organize the incidental loading of scrap into empty cars destined for Karaganda or Magnitka. At the Kzyltuskiy section of Vtorchermet, which is served by the Kokchetav rail division, more than 10,000 tons have already accumulated, at the Sulinskiy section of this same division more than 11,000 tons, and at the Chelgashinskiy section and the Arkalyk shop of the Kustanay division, 10,000-11,000 tons each, and so forth.

For its part, the collective of the Kazvtorchermet association has set itself the task of overcoming in the shortest possible period the existing backlog and mobilizing available internal reserves in order to fulfill its production program.

12412  
CSO: 1830/460

## UZBEK OBLKOM PLENUMS HIT POOR CADRE WORK

## New Dzhizak First Secretary

[Editorial Report] Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian on 5 April 1985 carries on pages 1 and 2 a 1,200-word article by PRAVDA VOSTOKA special correspondent V. Berezovskiy titled "Raising Responsibility, Exactingness, Discipline" which reports on the recently held [date not specified] Dzhizak Oblkom plenum. The plenum elected a new oblast first secretary: I.S. Umarov. The theme of the plenum was work with cadres and most of the article criticizes departures from the requirements of good cadre policy as outlined in recent CPSU and Uzbek CP Central Committee plenums, in particular the 16th republic plenum. Law enforcement organs are singled out as "lacking persistence and purpose. There are instances of disdain for one's duties, even commissions of crimes by MVD militia workers. The obkom, says the author, has taken a hard stand against violations of socialist legality. Leaders of the oblast court, several of the oblast's procuracy links and internal affairs units were changed. But it is too early to relax. The author mentions such deviations from communist morality as favoritism, formalism, abuse of position, chasing after personal gain, speculation, bribery, embezzlement, cheating customers, figure juggling, etc. Analyzed through the prism of problems with personnel management, noted several of the reports read at the plenum, the alarming situation in oblast industry, construction, transportation, and agriculture is no surprise. The plenum also attacked oblast work in atheistic training. "Party committees occasionally take a conciliatory position in the battle with religious prejudices and fail to hold communists responsible for participating in rituals that have a religious overtone. As a result in Gallyaral'skiy, Bakhmal'skiy and Dzhizakskiy rayons the mullahs are flourishing and mosques are expanding and being renovated."

## Karakalpak Youth Work Scored

[Editorial Report] Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian on 6 April 1985 carries on page 2 a 900-word article by PRAVDA VOSTOKA special correspondent A. Khayrtdinov titled "Fostering Responsibility: The Plenum of the Karakalpak Party Obkom." The plenum was attended by CPSU Central Committee responsible worker M.L. Ishkov and was addressed by, among others, chairman of the Uzbek Supreme Soviet's Presidium A.U. Salimov and Karakalpak Obkom

first secretary K. Salykov. V.V. Kislov, chairman of the autonomous republic's Committee of People's Control, deplored that figure juggling and frauding the state had become entrenched in the republic's agriculture. The result of illegal rice plantings and unofficial cotton fields had been mass embezzlement. Specialists, says the author, are being poorly used. In spite of a shortage of them some 1,800 specialists are being used as laborers and 1,900 are not working in their specialty. One report noted that the effort to bring more women into management was not being carried out decisively. There are no women at all among raykom 1st and 2nd secretaries or department heads, and very few in other responsible positions. There is as yet no effective cadre reserve. Only 56 percent of those who finished the CPSU Central Committee's Academy of Social Sciences or the Tashkent Higher Party School in the last 10 years are working in party or soviet organs. In agriculture solutions to basic problems were being ignored in favor of creating the appearance of well-being. Meanwhile the average yield per 100 hectares last year was from one and a half to 2 times lower than the average figure for Uzbekistan as a whole. The obkom Komsomol first secretary A. Khudaybergenov criticized shortcomings in work with youth, saying that former obkom secretary K. Yusupov had neglected ideological work.

#### Bukhara Plenum Hits MVD

[Editorial Report] Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian on 6 April 1985 carries on page 2 a 900-word article by PRAVDA VOSTOKA special correspondents T. Kaplinskaya and Yu. Kuz'min titled "Fostering Responsibility: The Plenum of the Bukhara Party Obkom." The Bukhara plenum was addressed by chairman of the Uzbek Council of Ministers G.Kh. Kadyrov and Bukhara Obkom first secretary I.D. Dzhabbarov. The oblast's internal affairs organs are blamed in the article for not conducting the battle with abuse of position energetically enough. The extortion of money in exchange for admission into institutions of higher learning and medical schools is still continuing, say the authors. Capital construction and agriculture were singled out for attack at the plenum. The number of women in leadership positions is especially small among secretaries of sovkhoz and kolkhoz party committees in Alatskiy, Peshkunskiy, and Sverdlovskiy rayons. The problem of creating a reserve of leadership is particularly urgent in construction, vehicle transportation, the state commerce system, people's education, public health, fruit and vegetable farms, the oblast water resources administration, the karakul-raising sovkhozes and the agro-industrial association.

#### Surkhandarya Plenum Cites 'Formalism'

[Editorial Report] Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian on 6 April 1985 carries on page 2 a 900-word article by PRAVDA VOSTOKA special correspondent V. Neyburg titled "Fostering Responsibility: The Plenum of the Surkhandarya Party Obkom." Speeches at the Surkhandarya Oblast plenum were read by Uzbek CP Central Committee second secretary T.N. Osetrov and Surkhandarya Obkom first secretary A.K. Karimov, as well as by others. The speakers cataloged poor cadre management traits in the oblast such as

formalism, love of paperwork, conciliatory attitude toward incompetent and unprincipled managers, nepotism and favoritism, and a poorly thought out approach toward creating a reserve of managers. The article objects to the practice of keeping leaders in leadership positions when they have proven unsuitable. "Shortcomings in cadre work are reflected in agricultural production, especially in animal husbandry, in transportation, and in many sectors of the economy."

#### Kashkadarya Plenum: Leaders Fired

[Editorial Report] Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian on 7 April 1985 carries on page 2 a 900-word article by PRAVDA VOSTOKA special correspondent K. Sabirov titled "Raising Exactingness, Judging on Performance: The Plenum of the Kashkadarya Party Obkom." "Increasing responsibility is being required of cadres. Three obkom secretaries and 8 obkom party department heads were changed, as were 26 gorkom and raykom secretaries, 4 deputy chairmen of oblast soviet executive committees, 12 chairmen of city and rayon executive committees, the majority of the managers of large oblast organizations, farms, and enterprises. The obkom party apparatus has practically been made over; the party, soviet and labor union aktiv are being made over. A number of officials have been held criminally responsible for serious violations of state discipline, eyewash, and figure juggling." Though, says the author, proper attention to personnel management has a positive effect on economic indicators, certain of the oblast's rayons show serious shortcomings in choosing, training, and placing cadres. This work suffers from haste, favoritism and protectionism, nepotism, leaders being appointed to areas outside their specialties, shuffling of immoral leaders from one management position to another, etc. "Participants of the plenum noted that the oblast party committee still has much to do to achieve a radical restructuring in work with cadres." Speeches were made by secretary of the Uzbek CP Central Committee Ye.A. Aytmuratov and Kashkadarya Obkom first secretary N.T. Turapov.

#### Syrdarya Plenum: Nomenklatura Firings

[Editorial Report] Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian on 7 April 1985 carries on page 2 a 900-word article by PRAVDA VOSTOKA special correspondent V. Magay titled "Raising Exactingness, Judging on Performance: The Plenum of the Syrdarya Party Obkom." Speeches were read at the plenum by Uzbek KGB chairman and candidate member of the Uzbek CP Central Committee Buro V.A. Golovin and Syrdarya Obkom first secretary V.A. Antonov. "Last year alone 40 nomenklatura leaders from the obkom, gorkoms, and raykoms of the party were fired. For various violations of party and state discipline and breaches of communist morality 88 nomenklatura workers received party penalties." The article notes that there are instances of abuse of position by law enforcement workers. It criticizes oblast work in promoting women to positions of management. "This question has been often discussed at plenums and sessions of party committee buros. But little has changed. Women constitute 45.9 percent of the work force in industrial enterprises, 24.2 percent in construction, and 34.6 percent in agriculture. But there are no women at

all among the leaders of industrial enterprises, while among deputy directors, chief specialists, shift foremen, and shop and sector leaders they constitute 15 percent. Of 2,500 brigades only 55 are headed by women." Poor cadre management is blamed for the state of affairs in industry, construction, and transportation. As examples of management problems the article cites high turnover in gorkom and raykom apparatuses, choosing cadres according to family relationships and friendship instead of performance, unscrupulousness, and acquisitiveness and private ownership mentality among managers.

#### Tashkent Plenum Touts Internationalism

[Editorial Report] Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian on 7 April 1985 carries on page 2 a 900-word article by PRAVDA VOSTOKA special correspondent Mikhail Pruger titled "Raising Exactingness, Judging on Performance: The Plenum of the Tashkent Party Obkom." Tashkent Obkom first secretary T.A. Alimov spoke at the plenum. The article records plenum criticism of figure juggling, embezzlement of socialist property, bribery, favoritism and nepotism, flagrant violations in allotting living space, abuse of position, and money grubbing. Deceit and eyewash, says the article, have penetrated into the spheres of people's education, culture, and public health. Among the recommendations made at the plenum was to increase attention to religious vestiges and other phenomena alien to the socialist way of life. "Particular attention was devoted to the need to regard internationalism as an integral part of Leninist nationality policy and the cadre policy of the CPSU. It is an important link in the struggle for the monolithic friendship and brotherhood of the Soviet peoples."

#### Navoi: Poorly Qualified Specialists

[Editorial Report] Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian on 7 April 1985 carries on page 2 a 900-word article by PRAVDA VOSTOKA special correspondent V. Lazarev titled "Raising Exactingness, Judging on Performance: The Plenum of the Navoi Party Obkom." Responsible worker of the CPSU Central Committee V.V. Dorofeyev participated in the Navoi Oblast plenum. Speeches were read by chairman of the Uzbek People's Control Committee and candidate member of the Uzbek CP Central Committee Buro V.A. Khaydurov and by Navoi Obkom first secretary V.P. Yesin. The speakers noted shortcomings in agriculture, capital construction, and the situation with specialists working in the oblast economy. "In terms of being supplied with specialists, Navoi Oblast is in last place among oblasts of the republic." For every thousand specialists working in the oblast only 31 have higher education diplomas. On kolkhozes this figure is 11 in 1,000. In agriculture the problem is worse. Only 1 brigad- leader in 20 has a diploma from higher education.

#### Khorezm, Namangan Obkom Plenums

[Editorial Report] Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian on 14 April 1985 carries on page 2 two 900-word articles under the common title of "Raising Managerial Responsibility" which summarize the work of the plenums of the party obkoms of Khorezm and Namangan oblasts. The articles were written by

PRAVDA VOSTOKA special correspondents K. Tsikanov and V. Vorokhov respectively. Speakers at the Khorezm Oblast plenum included secretary of the Uzbek CP Central Committee G.A. Shagazatov and obkom first secretary M. Khudaybergenov. Discipline, managerial unscrupulousness and incompetence, law enforcement organs' sluggishness, poor choice, training and placement of cadres, underqualified leaders were among the themes of the plenum.

The Namangan Obkom plenum was addressed by chairman of the Uzbek Council of Ministers V.K. Mikhaylov and Namangan Obkom first secretary N.R. Radzhabov. The article levels criticism at tolerance for abuses and other negative phenomena like the practice of transferring incompetent managers from one leadership position to another or choosing and placing personnel according to personal ties, family relationships, and being from the same local region.

Fergana, Andizhan, Samarkand Plenums

[Editorial Report] Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian on 16 April 1985 carries on page 2 three 900-word articles under the common title of "Efficiency, Scrupulousness, and Initiative" which reports on the plenums of the Fergana, Andizhan, and Samarkand obkoms. The articles were written by PRAVDA VOSTOKA special correspondents Sh. Tugushev, M. Gol'verk, and V. Karimov respectively. The Fergana plenum heard speeches by chairman of the Uzbek Trade Unions Council and candidate member of the Uzbek CP Central Committee Bureau N.M. Makhmudova and by Fergana Obkom first secretary Kh. Umarov. The plenum discussed how unprincipled, wasteful and irresponsible cadre policies in certain of the obkom's departments were reflected in the oblast's economic shortcomings, especially in capital construction and agriculture. The main malady in oblast agriculture, according to the speakers, is moving incompetent managers from one responsible position to another. Criticism was directed at protectionism and at choosing cadres by family ties, personal devotion, and being from the same region.

Andizhan Obkom first secretary S. Mamatrasulov reported to the Andizhan Obkom plenum, which concentrated its attention on the urgency of forming a reliable reserve of cadres, proper placement of specialists, atheistic education, work with youth, increased security for socialist property, the poor performance of some enterprises in the sectors of industry, transportation, communications, consumer services, communal living quarters, public health, and social welfare organs. "The number of instances of embezzlement is growing in industry, construction, commerce, and agriculture."

Samarkand Obkom first secretary R.S. Ahsiraliyev addressed the Samarkand plenum, noting that in the last 6 months 9 raykom and gorkom secretaries had been replaced, as had 14 chairmen and deputy chairmen of gorayispolkoms, dozens of other managerial workers; 12 managers had been removed from party organs and 5 deputies recalled from oblast and rayon soviets. The plenum criticized choice, training, and placement of cadres, observing that though the oblast agricultural sector has at its disposal some 7,000 specialists with higher or secondary education, only in five of them were employed in industry, construction, commerce, or other sectors while

nearly half of all brigade leaders and farm directors were interns with no specialized education. The plenum participants took issue with the manner in which women were being moved into management positions in the oblast. There are only 5 women among kolkhoz and sovkhoz directors and around 4 percent in managerial and specialist roles. They are seldom promoted in party and soviet organs. And among directors of industrial enterprises the oblast has only 1 woman, while in the transportation and communications sectors there is not one.

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#### UZBEKS URGED TO SHUN SELF-STYLED HEALERS

(Editorial Report) Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian on 21 March 1985 carries on page 4 a 400-word article by T. Ungbayev, chief physician of the Tashkadarya Oblast Traumatology Hospital and doctor of medical sciences, titled "Why Do You Need Quacks: Faith in Ignorant Tabibs Leads to Trouble." Beginning with a story of how a 24 year old sovkhoz worker had to have his arm amputated because he went to a self-declared quack healer for an injury and then, only when it was too late, to a real doctor, the author suggests that it is time for ispolkoms, public health workers, trade union activists, Komsomol organizations, and the general public to wage a decisive battle with quack healers. Law enforcement organs should become involved too, says Ungbayev. The tabibs and miracle healers, according to the author, are primarily interested in reward for themselves rather than in the good of their patients. "Even the great Navoi said that an ignorant tabib is the hangman's disciple. Unfortunately, however, there are still many people who blindly believe in quacks and self-proclaimed bone setters. Moreover, this is not just a phenomenon of remote villages."

#### UZBEK YOUTH SPORTS SCHOOLS CHIDED FOR EYEWASH

(Editorial Report) Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian on 17 April 1985 carries on page 4 a 600-word article by PRAVDA VOSTOKA special correspondent T. Nizayev titled "Approval for Idleness." Nizayev reports from the city of Yangiyer in Syrdarya Oblast about the eyewash involved in the management of the oblast's largest children's and youth's sports complex, that attached to the Syrdarya Oblast Department of People's Education. This complex, according to the author, was built at a cost of a million rubles and has a budget of 146,000 rubles, of which 79,400 goes to pay salaries. The training staff, however, is found wanting with respect to qualifications as well as the aptness of some specialties to the enterprise. For example, why have a specialist in marksmanship when the complex has no shooting range, asks the author. He finds the physical plant in reprehensible condition owing to neglect. Enrollment in the various sports programs is extremely low and competitions are not held in many areas, which, to the author, suggests that the "tinsel of trophies and prizes" displayed in the entrance to the complex is purely for show. The director of the complex could not be reached for comment, says Nizayev, since he was off on a junket to Baku at the head of a group of young checkers players, with the approval of the oblast department of people's education and the republic Ministry of Education.

#### UZBEK REPUBLIC HEALTH, WELFARE IMPROVEMENTS DISCUSSED

[Editorial Report] Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian on 19 April 1985 carries on page 1 a 100-word UzTAG article titled "More Concern About Workers' Health" noting that a two-day republic seminar began on 18 April in Samarkand on the theme of "improving the activity of physician-labor expert commissions." Deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems M.M. Kravchenko spoke at the session.

#### NEW SAMARKAND, NAMANGAN OBLAST SOVIET CHAIRMEN

[Editorial Report] Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian on 17 March 1985 carries on page 2 a 100-word UzTAG article titled "Sessions of the Oblast Soviets" announcing the election of A.A. Yuldashev as chairman of the Samarkand Oblast Soviet Executive Committee and the election of B.Zh. Khakimov as chairman of the Namangan Oblast Soviet Executive Committee.

#### NEW TASHKENT GORISPOLKOM CHAIRMAN

[Editorial Report] Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian on 15 March 1985 carries on page 3 a 50-word UzTAG article titled "Session of the Tashkent City Soviet Executive Committee" announcing the election of Sh. R. Mirsaidov as chairman of the Tashkent City Soviet Ispolkom.

#### UZBEKS PREPARE FOR 'INTERNATIONAL YOUTH YEAR'

[Editorial Report] Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian on 24 April 1985 carries on page 3 a 100-word UzTAG article titled "Dedicated to Youth Year" which records the 23 April session in Tashkent of the republic commission for conducting International Youth Year in Uzbekistan. The session was chaired by S.U. Sultanova, deputy chairman of the Uzbek Council of Ministers. It was noted that all enactments carried out in connection with the event should be aimed at further improvement in the ideological and moral training of youth and at raising youth's labor and social activeness. Several leaders from ministries, departments, the Central Committee, and the Komsomol of Uzbekistan gave reports on the status of preparations for the International Festival of Youth and Students in Moscow. The plan for conducting International Youth Year in the republic was discussed and approved.

#### TUSSR COUNCIL OF MINISTERS DEPUTY CHAIRMAN DEAD

[Editorial report] Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 14 April 1985 carries on page 3 a 400-word obituary announcing the death of Nury Orazmukhamedov, member of the Turkmen SSR Communist Party Central Committee, Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet deputy, and deputy chairman of the TuSSR Council of Ministers. Orazmukhamedov died on 12 April 1985 after a prolonged serious illness. The obituary was signed by Turkmen first secretary, M.G. Gapurov, and others.

#### TUSSR SUPREME SOVIET PRESIDIUM ON MEDICAL, OTHER ISSUES

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian on 25 April 1985 carries on page 2 a 500-word TurkmenINFORM report entitled "In the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Turkmen SSR." Chairman of the Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, B. Yazkulihev, presided over the first session of the 11th TuSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. The presidium discussed the examination of letters and complaints of workers, and the executive committee of the Proletarskiy rayon of Ashkhabad council of people's deputies. Certain shortcomings in its work were noted, particularly due to the many complaints about the housing trust. The problems are about the disrepair of houses, heating, and plumbing. The rayon ispoliom does not have enough control over the work of the trust. Measures were established to do away with the problems. By recommendation of the commission on public health and social security, the Supreme Soviet discussed the further improvement of medical services in Ashkhabad. Although the work in this area is constantly improving in the republic, the overall condition of outpatient and inpatient clinic services to the population and a number of medical institutions do not correspond to contemporary needs. Some frequently mentioned problems are indifference on the part of medical personnel and their improper behavior. There are also problems in emergency and obstetric and gynecological services, as well as a shortage of hospital personnel. The Presidium approved the commission's recommendations and directed the appropriate ministries and organs to take measures to bring medical services up to the requisite level.

#### TUSSR BUREO DISCUSSES TEACHING CADRES, OTHER ISSUES

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian on 26 April 1985 carries on page 1 a 600-word report entitled "In the Turkmen CP Central Committee Buro" on a regular session of the Buro at which the republic's economic and socio-cultural development were discussed. A report was heard on the work of the Turkmen State University imeni A.M. Gorky Party committee on raising the faculty's ideological and political level and the communist education of students. A series of measures was established to increase the committee's effectiveness. Nevertheless, the level and content of its work does not fully correspond to contemporary needs. Many instructors do not utilize the achievements of scientific and technological progress in their work; there is no clear-cut program to improve the connection of the university with republican schools and trade schools. The Buro directed the Party committee and the vice-chancellorship to develop measures to eliminate the noted shortcomings and to implement the said measures. The Buro also directed the Turkmen SSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education to improve its work with teaching cadres and in managing the ideological and political education of the students and pupils. The Buro also discussed the further improvement of organizational and political work among livestock specialists. In a joint decree issued by the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee and the Council of Ministers a number of serious shortcomings in this area were noted. Other issues were also discussed.

TUSSR INTERNAL AFFAIRS MINISTER MEETS WITH JOURNALISTS

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian on 21 April 1985 carries on page 4 a 300-word TurkmenINFORM report entitled "Meeting With a Minister." On 19 April a meeting took place in Ashkhabad between the Turkman SSR minister of internal affairs, N.A. Ovezov, and journalists and representatives of creative unions and mass media. The meeting was opened by the chairman of the board of the TuSSR journalists' union, A. Mamedov. Ovezov gave a report on the combined work of internal affairs organs and journalists and representatives of creative unions directed at the further strengthening of socialist law and order. He expressed confidence that this mutual interaction will serve to further the struggle against law breakers and theft of socialist property. Ovezov awarded prizes to the winners of the republic's competition for the best television and radio broadcasts on the selfless labor of internal affairs organs workers. He also awarded the prize for the republican contest for the best press material on the activity of Turkmenistan's internal affairs organs.

TUSSR: GAPUROV RECEIVES, AWARDS MEDALS FOR WWII PARTICIPATION

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian on 26 April 1985 carries on page 1 a 400-word TurkmenINFORM report entitled "High Decorations for Veterans." A ceremony awarding the order of the Patriotic War First and Second Class to a group of veterans took place in Ashkhabad on 25 April. The decoration is conferred for bravery demonstrated in fighting the enemy and in celebration of the 40th anniversary of the Soviet victory in WW II. General-Colonel N.I. Popov, commander of the Turkestan military district conferred on TuSSR first secretary M.G. Gapurov the order of the Patriotic War First Class and the medals "Forty Years of Victory in the Great Patriotic War 1941-1945" and "Participant in the War." On the same day, M.G. Gapurov presented these same decorations, as well as the medal "Participant in the Labor Front," to a group of veterans and congratulated them. The chairman of the TuSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, B. Yazkulihev; the chairman of the Turkmen SSR Council of Ministers, S.A. Niyazov; the second secretary of the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee, A.I. Rachkov, and the chief of a CPSU Central Committee section, B.M. Istomin were present at the awards ceremony.

MOSSR MASS MEDIA CONFERENCE ON IMPROVING LANGUAGE, STYLE

[Editorial Report] Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIA in Russian on 5 April 1985 carries on page 3 a 400-word article entitled "For the Reader and Listener --A Lively, Convincing Word." On 4 April in the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee a conference of mass media representatives, publishers, and others was held on language and style in the press, television and radio broadcasts, and their improvement. It was noted that in order to achieve the maximum effectiveness of mass media on the population it is necessary to devote more attention to professional competence, the selection and development of themes, composition, and the language and style of the material. However, it was also noted that many republican publications lack substance and suffer from conventionality and incompetent language use. Suggestions were made for further improving journalists' training, for the publication of dictionaries and for the organization of conferences on issues of language and style in mass media.

KASSR SUPREME COURT PLENUM ON CRIMINAL LAW

[Editorial Report] Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian on 20 April 1985 carries on page 3 a 300-word KazTAG report entitled "Plenum of the Supreme Soviet of the Kazakh SSR." An improvement in the republican courts' examination of criminal cases and the pronouncement of appropriate sentences was noted. Although certain mistakes and shortcomings had occurred in the past, the plenum stressed the importance of strictly conforming to the law, of ensuring that each person convicted be given fair punishment. Courts were directed to devote particular attention to a complete description of circumstances surrounding the crime, an analysis and weighing of all evidence in the case. In cases where crimes were committed for mercenary gain, the courts must decide on whether to impose additional punishment in the form of confiscating the convict's property and denying him the right to occupy certain positions. Criminal courts were directed to improve the implementation of material and procedural legislation in passing sentences.

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